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Nicolae Ceaușescu

NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU

Builder of Modern Romania
and International Statesman



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Chapter 1

A Lifetime Dedicated to the People

Two Millennia of Struggle

Amidst the long hills of the last petrified wave of the Southern Carpathian chain and clusters of time-worn forests, stretches a highway between the two ancient boroughs of Walachia, namely Pitești and Slatina, from which leads the road to Scornice Ști-Olt, a village lying between the sub-Carpathians and the fertile Danube Plain. It was there on January 26, 1918 that Nicolae Ceausescu, President of Romania was born, one of the most outstanding personalities of the Romanian people's national history, a well-known figure in the world communist movement and in international politics.

Born into a family of poor peasants, today's leader of Romania—the first among the heads of state of the communist countries to pay an official visit to the United Kingdom—was the son of Alexandra and Andrută Ceausescu. The very history of his family, of where he was born and grew up, can be considered a graphic illustration of the history of the Romanian people, of the land they developed and of their age old aspirations for freedom, independence and welfare.

It is worth mentioning that almost all biographers of Nicolae Ceausescu so far—and there have been many, from various countries of the world—have remarked on correlation between the Romanian president's ideas and the reasons for the struggle the Romanians tirelessly waged for the building and recognition of their own being, for the right to assert themselves as a self-dependent nation with equal rights among the nations of the world.

Greatly encouraged by President Ceausescu in recent years, the Romanians are very proud of their history. In 1980 they celebrated 2050 years since the foundation of Burebista's state, the first centralized state of the Dacians.

"Long and tough", said Nicolae Ceausescu, "was the road traversed by Burebista's and Decebalus' descendants. From centuries of strenuous battles and Dacian and Roman Civilizations, a new people

came into being, preserving and developing its forerunners' best features and virtues."

The history of the Romanians, then, is the history of a settled people who developed in a unitary manner from the hearth of ancient Dacia, building a thriving, material and spiritual culture. "Romanian history is", noted the scientist Nicolae Iorga—"about a people who, due to their ancestors, have fourfold millenary roots; this is our pride and this is our force". In turn, American historian Paul MacKendrick, referring to the Romanians' contribution to the assets of human civilization, wrote: "The Romanians are fully entitled to our attention as residents of a Latin isle in a sea of Slavs, as conveyors of Greco-Roman culture in the Middle Ages, as members of one of the most remarkably creative aboriginal states of ancient times, as victims and beneficiaries of Rome's last conquered and first deserted province—Dacia—and as preservers, after the Romans' retreat, of a mixture of autochthonous and classical culture which accounts for their country's uniqueness among the European socialist countries."

From remotest times, the Romanians' life proceeded in permanent confrontation with numerous adversities and vicissitudes. For centuries they had to cope with successive devastating waves of migrating populations. They had to cope with the policies of conquest and annexation pursued by empires that craved for their land and riches. In such conditions, the struggle for the defence of the ancestors' land, their very being, and their self-dependence became a constant feature of the Romanian people's history.

Many archaeological vestiges and written testimonies from ancient times tell us about the Geto-Dacians, who formed part of the Thracian ethnic groups. As the geographer Ptolemy wrote, they were settled in the land that "neighbours to the north with the part of European Sarmatia stretching from Mount Carpatos to the turn of river Tyras . . . to the west with the Metanast lazigs by the river Tibiscos, and to the south with the part of the river Danube stretching from where the river Tibiscos merges into it to Axiopolis".

Numerous, organized in vigorous political formations, inhabiting a wide territory with abundant soil and subsoil riches, the Geto-Dacians attained a high economic level in the latter half of the first millennium BC. Both the writings of Herodotus and Ptolemy, and the information recorded by Chriton, Emperor Trajan's Greek physician, show that agriculture was the most important branch of the Geto-Dacian economy, along with bee-keeping, fishing, animal breeding and metal working. Louis Leger noted in this respect that the people were "agriculturists and capable metal workers".

Intelligently and creatively borrowing elements of material and spiritual culture from all peoples they were in touch with, the Geto-

Dacians received—as historian Vasile Pârvan said "strong Greek influence from the upper Danube—and then Roman from the lower Danube—offering in turn, to Greeks and Romans alike, a superior and very specific spiritual consistency, recorded in ancient literature with astonishment and admiration and making of the Geto-Dacians an almost fabulous due to their bravery, wisdom and sense of justice".

In a Geto-Dacian society, stratified much earlier than the end of the second century BC into *tarabostes* (*pilleati*) from among whom they elected the kings and the priests who made the ruling class, to whom the mass of producers, "the common people" (*capilati, comati*) were subdued, Burebista managed, in about 70 BC, to unify the various formations into a centralized and independent state. Under Burebista, "the first and greatest of the kings of Thrace", the Dacian state stretched to the north-west, up to the Slovak Mountains and the Middle Danube, to the south, up to the Balkans, and to the south-east, up to the eastern shore of the Black Sea, also encompassing the Greek cities there. Julius Jung mentions that "Burebista had founded a strong kingdom that stretched on either side of the Danube, up to Thrace, Illyria and Noricum".

A skilful organizer, warrior and diplomat, Burebista succeeded, by wise policies, in raising Dacia onto higher development stages, imposing her as a political force in the central south-eastern zone of Europe. The historian and geographer Strabo writes: "Coming to rule his people, who were tired because of many wars, Geta Burebista so uplifted them through drills, abstention from wine and obedience that, in the space of a few years, he built a strong state and subjected to the Getae most of the neighbouring populations. Even the Romans came to fear him".

After Burebista's epoch, came that of Decebalus, the hero king of the Dacians, who had to face one of the greatest forces of ancient times—the Roman Empire. The fierce fighting between Romans and Dacians is described with admiration by such authors as R. Bergner, L. Leger, N. S. Derjavin, J. F. Neigeaur, A. Ubicini and J. A. Vaillant. "For decades on end, a most stubborn resistance was offered to the Roman conquerors"—writes Soviet historian N. S. Derjavin—"by the Dacians who inhabited the territory of Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia up to the Black Sea and the Dniester . . . The great importance attached by the Roman leaders to the victory over the Dacians can be inferred from the fact that Rome celebrated Trajan's victory for 123 days with great shows performed by 10,000 gladiators and 11,000 wild animals".

At that time the British already knew those who lived

"At the foot of the mountain,
At the gates of the heaven . . ."

as shown with the fine and melodious words of the beginning of a Romanian folk ballad called "The Ewe Lamb".

From the days of ancient Rome, as the Romanian President said during a reception at the Greater London Council, the Romanian and British people had links of friendship. "The links between Romania and Great Britain", he said at the banquet given by Queen Elizabeth II, in 1978, "have deep roots and rich traditions which go far back to the times of the Roman Empire".

Life in those lands marked new progress after part of Dacia was conquered by the Romans in the wars of 101-102 AD and 105-106 AD, a conquest which to the Geto-Dacians had both negative and positive consequences, especially ethno-linguistically and spiritually, based on the intertwining of the two civilizations and cultures. In 271 AD Emperor Aurelian ordered the withdrawal of the Roman administration and army from Dacia, a measure determined by the powerful contradictions in Roman society and aggravated by the migrators' attacks. It was not a complete abandonment, as strong bridge heads were kept to further link the Empire to the north-Danubian region of the former province; mixture of the two civilizations continued after Aurelian's retreat. "It is however true"—wrote Romanian historian A. D. Xenopol—"that life, which was just growing roots in Dacia, had reached the verge of decay, such a fruitful offspring could not have been born if it had not been grafted on the branch, full of stamina, of the Thracian breed at the foot of the Carpathians".

Here is what President Ceaușescu says:

"As is known, the Dacian civilization marvellously thrived for hundreds of years. The organization of the Dacians' common life started many centuries before its coming into being. The various statal formations of the Dacians had an advanced material and spiritual life for those times. They had relations with other peoples and civilizations in the neighbourhood. In the centralized state, besides agriculture, they developed mining, metal working and other trades, which reflect their high level of civilization. Contact and collaboration with the Greek and Roman civilizations powerfully influenced the Dacians' way of life and thinking. The long time taken by the wars between the Dacians and the Romans is in itself proof of the might and endurance of the Dacian state and people. The Romans' victory ushered in a long era of coexistence, in which the Dacian and Roman civilizations blended even more. As proved by the writings of that time, the archaeological researches, scientific data, that was the time when the Daco-Roman symbiosis occurred and started the formation of a new people, based on the loftiest virtues of the Dacians and Romans. That is how the Romanian people came into being. After the Roman armies had withdrawn, because of the invasion of the migratory peoples, the new people

remained there to defend the land and the community of interests. Gradually, it started the organization of new formations, voivodates, which fought fierce battles against the invaders, in defence of their own being.

"Hundreds of years passed, in which the Romanian people's community of economic interests, territory, culture and language got cemented. Conditions were provided in that period, although somehow late, for the passage to a higher organization—the formation of the three Romanian Principalities: Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. As it is known, they came into being and developed in the struggle against foreign domination, for the union into a strong state, apt to face the foreign invasions, to ensure their own self-dependent development."

The permanence of the autochthonous element after the Roman conquest was the very prerequisite of the process of ethnocultural intertwining of the Dacians and Romans, which resulted in the formation of the Romanian people. The invasions, starting in the 3rd century AD, by the migratory populations that had a lower level of evolution, caused damage and devastation, but they were, however, unable to change the community of life, language and culture of this people, its historic course toward superior forms of political and socio-economic organization.

Plenty of discussion is going on about the Romanian people's continuity. The controversies concern especially certain zones of today's Romania and one does not have to look very far for explanations. It is not a secret that especially some Hungarian irredentist circles disseminate opinions according to which Transylvania would have remained without population and migratory groups would have settled there. Those who try to accredit doubts as to the continuity of the Romanian people on their historical hearth, are invited to study the sources, to see the proofs for themselves, to get convinced of the facts as they really were in the course of the centuries.

Nicolae Ceaușescu stresses the following:

"Most telling is the fact that from the very beginning the three principalities had close links. In one form or another, they had a conscience of common origin, and the wish to get united into one state, a fact, though short-lived, attained under the rule of Michael the Brave. The union accomplished under Michael the Brave expressed the Romanians' wish to have a unitary state of their own, heralding the eventual formation of the unitary national Romanian state in 1918.

"Some historians try today to sustain the theory of the existence, in a certain period, of a void in the Carpathian-Danubian area. I think they have had their answer for a long time. First of all, even more advanced people and scholars of those times answered this, speaking of the

inhabitants and voivodates existing in the Carpathian-Danubian area, and I think they knew better than some of today's historians, who try to show themselves as omniscient and deny the realities, deny what is the result of historical development. The answer was given by Mircea, Stephen the Great, Tancu de Hunedoara, Michael the Brave, those who defeated Bajazet, who coped with so many conquerors, who built the first centralized state of the Romanians of Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. They did not come from elsewhere, did not come out of the blue, they lived there, they were born here, on this land and they defended it with their blood. They existed here over hundreds upon hundreds of years; they got organized, developed and fought in order to live free and independent. It was in that period that our people's self-consciousness came into being, the awareness of the continuity, of the unity of origin and culture of all inhabitants of the three Principalities."

Referring to that long period of troubles (4th-10th centuries), French historian A. Ubicini wrote "In this long interval of time, the Romanians managed, taking cover in the mountains against the wave of invasions. The barbarians had their well defined route, their stages established in advance, from the east to the west. If they happened to stray northwards, they would encounter the insurmountable barrier of the Carpathians. As a matter of fact, these mountains were excellently placed for defence, thanks to a system of military posts organized by the Romans and making a continuous line of fortified points stretching along the crest, from the Iron Gates to the springs of the Dniester and Vistula. Time did not erode either the force or the hope of the Daco-Romans. They remained the same enduring and patient race who considered themselves immortal: "The Romanian does not perish" goes the saying in all regions of Romania. There is another, almost equally disseminated one: "The water passes, the stones remain. The water was the barbar invasion, the stones were the Romanians". As Hungarian historian Huszti András concluded: "The Getae's descendants live and reside today too, where their parents' lived, they speak the language their parents used to speak in the past".

In the historical conditions brought about by migrators, some peculiarities of development of the Romanian people took shape. First, their occurrence in the rural milieu, with the village being the source and force of its continued endurance; second, unlike other Romance peoples who came into being within barbaric kingdoms, the Romanians had peculiar forms of organization: village communities, unions of communities, popular Romanias, cnezdoms, duchies, voivodships. They covered certain geographic and economic zones, such as the river valleys or areas enclosed by mountain or hill chains, and were called "countries", meaning states and political-administrative organizations, led by dukes or voivodes.

But the historical objective process of formation of the centralized feudal state, as a result of development and unification of the voivodships all over the Romanian territory, was checked both by the internal centrifugal tendencies caused by the process of feudal decentralization characteristic of whole of Europe at that time, and by the permanent external threat. And so it happened that, starting in the 10th century, after their settlement in the Panonian Plain, for all the stubborn resistance offered by Romanians, hordes of Hungarian kings started making their way into Transylvania. It was only by the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th that they managed to occupy parts of the territory in north-western Romania. Yet, after that, too, the Transylvanian Romanians preserved their old organization into "countries", enduring and perpetuating their material and spiritual culture. Documents of that time, even those of the Hungarian kings, mention "terra Blacorum" (The Country of Romanians), the countries of Oaș, Lăpuș, Sălaj, the Country of Hateg, where the rule of Litovoi's voivodate extended over Romanians north and south of the Carpathians, the Country of Maramureș with the Romanian voivodates of the Dragoș and Bogdan families. All this proves that early in the 14th century, the freedom and political individuality of Romanians all over Transylvania were still widely manifest. In such conditions, its administrative organization had to have a structure differing from the rest of the Hungarian feudal state, retaining an autochthonous form: the voivodate, which was to be found also with the other Romanian lands. In this respect, Hungarian humanist Losonczy István wrote in 1783 that "The country of Transylvania", neighbouring upon Hungary to the east, had formerly been called "middle Dacia"; referring to the Hungarians' advent there, he pointed out that "the Hungarian kings ruled it through voivodes of Transylvania". On the same question Nicolae Iorga wrote: "Of all provinces which the crown of Hungary ruled, the only one to have preserved under the Hungarians a voivode as its head is Transylvania."

Thus, under St. Stephen's Crown, Hungary and Transylvania were distinct entities, each one of them with its own physical and human structure, with its own political organization and economic orientation. Historian Szilágyi Sándor is positive in his treatise that "Transylvania and Hungary were always two different countries". The same Hungarian historian, looking for the causes that prevented the "welding" of Transylvania and Hungary, said that "the needle of the Transylvanian compass seemed to stick to the East, because of the population that belonged mostly to the Oriental church, while Hungary was west-bound as early as the age of her first king".

With an estimated strength of 200,000, the Hungarian kings were unable to cope with the vast apostolic obligations they had assumed;

they were unable either to actually dominate or to assimilate the provinces which they had invaded. That is why the Hungarian kings had to resort to colonizations with Szecklers and Saxons and to bring the orders of monk knights to make the Catholic propaganda successful and defend the Carpathians. The fact was symptomatic that, after the Bobilna peasant uprising (1437) was suppressed, the *Unio Trium Nationum* was concluded, as the alliance of the Hungarians, Szecklers and Saxons directed against the Romanian people that was "tolerated" in its own land and, ironically, considered as such by a population by far less numerous, by those who had come there or were colonized only a short time before.

South and east of the Carpathians the voivodates were unified in the 13th-14th centuries, asserting themselves as centralized, independent and sovereign states under the dynasties of the Basarab and Mușat families. Mircea the Old (1386-1418) was entitled to call himself "We Mircea, great Voivode and Prince by the mercy of God and by the will of God mastering and ruling the whole country of Hungro-Walachia and the parts across the mountains, and even master of the Tartar parts and the parts of Amlaș and Hertzeg Fagaraș and of the Banat of Severin, and ruler on either side of all the Danube to the Big Sea and on the city of Dirstor"; while Roman Mușat (1391-1394) called himself: "Voivode of the Country of Moldavia from the Mountains to the Black Sea shore."

From that historical age on, a defining feature was the continuity of the Romanian states, their permanent existence in a Europe where a number of states ceased to exist for hundreds of years or for ever. As regards the existence of several Romanian states in the Middle Age—the statal pluralism—this was not a phenomenon specific to the Romanian people's history. Similar cases are to be found, in various periods, also in the history of France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, for example. Nor was the persistence of that division characteristic only of the Romanians. England's political unification took place in the 17th century, Italy's and Germany's only in the 19th century. Moreover, it should be stressed that the Romanians were among the first ones in medieval Europe to accomplish—in 1600—the union of all territories inhabited by them (except for Dobrogea), which proves the continuity of the political evolution in the natural, law-like sense of Romanian historic development.

The existence of the Romanian Principalities as individual feudal states did not affect the Romanian people's ethnic unity expressed in the community of language and culture and in similar economic and structural patterns all over the Romanian territory. There permanently existed among them close political, economic, spiritual links, with the internal organization (the ruler, the ministry, the juridical system, the

army, other feudal institutions) being generally identical or very similar. The people further preserved their general and ancient name for all residents of the homeland, namely Romanian, even if, besides it, there were also others, taken for political names, geographic zones, names of waters and mountains. The names of Walachians, Moldavians, Oltenians, Transylvanians, Banatans, Bessarabians, Maramureșans, Bucovinans, Dobrogeans or even more specific names—the "moți" (in the Apuseni Mountains), "vrinceni" (in Vrancea)—are all part of the historical category of the Romanian people. These truths are to be found in the scientific oeuvre of many world-famous scientists. French historian Jules Michelet, for instance, stressed in this sense that the Romanian "kept unaltered everything his forefathers left to him: the attire, the manners, the language and especially his name of Roman!"

The Romanian countries, right after their emergence as independent feudal states, had to cope with the threat from the south by the Ottoman Empire which, after conquering the whole Balkan Peninsula and turning the czarates of the Bulgarians and Serbians into pashlyks, were, by the end of the 14th century, in direct touch with the Romanian countries' southern boundaries. In 1417, for all the bright victories won by Mircea the Old, for all the heroism of the mass of people, the Ottoman Empire managed to tear away from Walachia the territory between the Danube and the Sea—Dobrogea—which it would keep till 1878. "Remaining all by himself, with no support from either Hungary or Moldavia", writes Bulgarian historian Ivan Pastuhov, "Mircea had to admit to his vassalage to the Sultan and committed himself to pay tribute to him. Besides, Mahomet I took the whole of Dobrogea, inclusive of the towns of Babadag, Isaccea, Giurgiu and Turnu Severin".

The Romanian Principalities' joint resistance to the Ottoman danger, the victories won under the rules of Mircea the Old, John of Hunedoara (1441-1446), Vlad Tepes (1446-1462), Stephen the Great (1457-1504) and other princes, allowed the Romanian Principalities to conclude understandings and treaties with the Ottoman Porte already in the 14th century, whereby the rulers' sovereign power was recognized and, in exchange of an amount of money they had to pay to the Sultan in form of tribute, the Porte committed herself to observe their independence and territorial integrity. Even later, by the mid-16th century, when the Ottoman Porte's political and economic pressure on the Romanian Principalities was tougher, that did not mean however their occupation and transformation into Ottoman provinces directly administered by the Porte according to Mahometan customs and laws, but the ruling according to the above-mentioned political treaties, known as "Capitulations". According to the provisions of those political

treaties, called "Ahidname" in Ottoman sources, the Romanian Principalities preserved their administrative autonomy, ruled themselves by their laws and customs, keeping their privileges acknowledged in those official acts.

The maintenance of the Romanian Principalities' political privileges, the way they were enshrined in the first "ahidname", the observance by the Porte of those rights at a time when the empire's military and political power were at their best, when the states neighbouring the Romanians fell by turn under the Sultans' sword in 1541 and Vienna was later on besieged, is first of all explained by the fact that the Ottoman power could not bend the Romanians' resistance. The above-mentioned treaties were concluded by the Romanian rulers not from a loser's position, but from a winner's position, and so peace and quiet at home was ensured for the country's development.

Faced with the permanently offensive policy of the Ottoman Empire, which found a Europe divided by its own policy of expansion and eroded by internal feudal fighting, the Romanian princes understood the necessity of building a common front of the Romanian Principalities. They knew how to take advantage of the rivalries among the big powers in order to avoid the dangers. They employed the policy of the homeland's defence through popular war. They established contacts and sent messages to near and more remote neighbours, mediating and reinforcing political alliances. They cultivated links with the Papacy in order to win it over to their side in the conflict with the big Catholic powers and to induce the development of a European anti-Ottoman front. They established good neighbourly relations with the Porte at a time when internal and external developments were not propitious for armed confrontation. Internationally, the existence of the free Romanian Principalities in the zone of the Carpathians, of the Danube and the Black Sea meant support to the subjugated people's liberation struggle.

By the middle of the 16th century, when the Ottoman Porte established its domination on Hungary, to last one and a half centuries, instituting the beylerbeylik with the seat at Buda, the Romanian Principality of Transylvania discontinued its belonging to the jurisdiction of Hungary and established vassal-suzerain relations with the Porte under treaties of "ahidname" kind (Capitulations), therefore having the legal status of the other two Romanian Principalities. Such a situation brought about the strengthening of the links between the Romanians on either side of the Carpathians, and the intensification of the collaboration among Moldavia, Transylvania and Walachia on multiple planes.

The Ottoman-Habsburg contradictions for domination and influence in central Europe sharpened in the latter part of the 16th century. In

that context, the Romanian Principalities' situation deteriorated and the Ottoman interference was offered fierce opposition. Developing the political conceptions of illustrious forerunners, Prince Neagoe Basarab (1512-1521) articulated a diplomatic solution for the preservation of the Romanian statal being, for the maintenance of peace. He promoted a policy of consolidated relations with the Transylvanian Romanians, equally backing the Orthodox church as an element to weld the consciousness of the nation. In the same spirit, Petru Rareș (1527-1538; 1541-1546) contributed, through his political and diplomatic thinking and activity, to the strengthening of the unity of the Romanian world. Prince Despot sponsored the plan of remaking old Dacia through the liberation and union of the three Romanian Principalities. By fighting, Prince Ioan (1572-1574) showed Europe the Romanians' determination to defend their national being, their state and freedom.

Under the circumstances, the accomplishment of the Romanian Principalities' union was a requirement of an objective historical process. The imperatives imposed the emergence of a personality like that of Michael the Brave who, in his short-lived rule (1593-1601) was to accomplish the Romanians' supreme ideal.

The lucid understanding of the Romanian Principalities' natural needs of development and progress, an understanding that went beyond feudal narrow-mindedness, the grasping of the sense of historical evolution on a European scale made Michael the Brave energetically act for taking full advantage of all home and international political possibilities of the time, accomplishing whatever the existing conditions allowed for. In his time the expansionist tendencies of the big neighbour powers: the Ottoman Porte, the Habsburg Empire, the Kingdom of Poland, were even more obvious. The Ottoman Empire showed its intention to extend its domination towards the centre of Europe, directly aiming at the Romanian Principalities, whose economic, financial and other obligations had become most onerous. Plans were made for the eradication of the Romanian Principalities' autonomy and their turning into pashlyks, as had happened to the Romanian provinces of Dobrogea (1417) and Crișna (1552), to a number of Balkan countries and a large part of Hungary's territory.

Given the situation, Prince Michael the Brave gave the signal for the anti-Ottoman struggle, managing to achieve in 1600 the political reunification of the Romanians within the boundaries that encompassed most of old Dacia's territory. With good reason, Gaspar Boghinus, the official historian of Gabriel Bethlen, saw the union of the Romanian Principalities as "inevitabilis factorum lex" (the coming true of a law of inevitable destiny).

Michael the Brave dedicated a lifetime to the independence, freedom and unity of the Romanian Principalities. He spared nothing

for this neither wealth, nor family, nor even his blood. He wrote to Ferdinand I de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany: "I have ruled three countries: Walachia, Transylvania and Moldavia. . . . In this time anyone can see that I have spared neither expenses, nor effort, nor blood, nor even my own life, but I have fought the war myself sword in hand for a very long time".

It is worth mentioning that the existence of contacts between the Court of England and the Court of Walachia was recorded in the third decade of the 15th century, when a document preserved at the Public Record Office, dated October 13, 1427, mentioned an amount of money paid to a certain "Paul, count of Walachia". That document, together with 217 others from the 1427-1601 period, was published in 1964 by professor Eric Tappe in the book "Documents Concerning Romanian History 1427-1601". They were traced both in public archives and in private collections in Great Britain. The information supplied by that book facilitates a better knowledge of the Romanian Principalities' situation in an era of great confrontations between the Habsburg Empire, the Ottoman Porte and the Kingdom of Poland. The diplomatic accounts of Edward Barton, British ambassador to the Porte under Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) are very interesting. Numerous documents of the above-mentioned book refer to Michael the Brave and his anti-Ottoman struggle. The diplomatic correspondence of Barton and of his successor, Henry Lello, between 1594 and 1601, records data related to Michael the Brave's personality.

The British Museum preserves a document from 1592, issued under Queen Elizabeth I, which conferred on one of the sons of Prince Iancu Sasul the right of free passage through England.

After Michael the Brave, the idea of restoring the old Dacia, of the Romanian Principalities' union within their natural boundaries pervades the political, diplomatic and military plans of many a ruler, including Gheorghe Ștefan, Matei Basarab, Șerban Cantacuzino, Constantin Brîncoveanu, Gabriel Bethlen, Mihnea III, Gheorghe Rákóczi II and many others.

Starting in the latter half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, when the power of the Ottoman Empire was declining, and the power of the Habsburg Empire and of the Czarist Empire was growing, the Romanian principalities were at the crossroads of the three big empires' military and political interests. Under the circumstances the Ottoman Porte tried more than once to solve its military and political difficulties on account of the Romanian Principalities, flagrantly violating the obligations it assumed under the Capitulations and going as far as to cede territories from the bodies of these countries. That made some Romanian rulers seek alliances with the Czarist Empire which was against the Ottoman Porte; at the same time, Czarist Russia was more and

more inclined to assume the title and right of "protector" of the peoples that were under Ottoman domination.

In 1656, under the rule of Gheorghe Ștefan and of Czar Alexei Mikhailovich, the first political treaty that we know of so far was concluded between Moldavia and czarist Russia, like two sovereign states. Under the first article of the treaty, "Russia committed herself to observe the honour and rules of Moldavia as they were before", that is, without any interference in policy and administration. Czarist Russia committed herself to respecting Moldavia's independence and opposed the interference of the Ottoman Empire. Likewise, the provision of the treaty concluded by Dimitrie Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, with Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, on April 13, 1711, relied on the same principles. The two rulers negotiated like sovereigns of two independent states. Thus, Peter the Great did not negotiate with the Prince of Moldavia through the agency of the Porte; he recognized in him the absolute ruler of the country. "According to the old customs of Moldavia", article 6 reads, "the entire power of the state shall be in the hands of the Prince". At the same time, the czar of Russia acknowledged in article 11 that "The frontiers of the Principality of Moldavia, according to its ancient rights, are those marked by the rivers Dniester, Camenets and Bender, by the whole territory of the Budgeac, the Danube, Walachia, the Grand Duchy of Transylvania and the territory of Poland, according to the set delimitation".

The increasingly obvious decline of the Ottoman Empire allowed the Habsburg Empire to start the offensive on the Ottoman Porte, openly aiming at the Romanian Principalities as well. In 1686, after the victories won over the Ottomans, the Austrian army entered Transylvania, imposing on Prince Mihail Apaffi the Treaty of Blaj, under which the army of occupation had to be admitted to Transylvania "to stay for the winter". Subsequently, by tough military methods, the Habsburgs elicited in 1688, from the Diet of Transylvania, the relinquishing "of its own will" of the Porte's suzerainty and admission to "the protection of the Emperor" of Vienna. Transylvania virtually became a province of the Habsburg Empire, politically and legally "established and legalized" under the Diploma of Leopold, a "document" whereby the Austrian Emperor became also Prince of Transylvania. That status of Transylvania was accepted by the Porte under the Carlowitz Peace Treaty (1699), pursuant to which Transylvania "officially" passed under the rule of the Habsburg Empire, changing thus Ottoman domination for the Habsburg occupation. After the 1716-1718 Austrian-Turkish war, Oltenia was annexed by the Habsburg Empire which had kept it 21 years (1718-1739) and the Banat it kept till 1918.

The library of the School of Slavonic and East-European Studies, in

London University, keeps a collection of old Romanian printings, made by M. Gaster, which is of great importance in getting to know the Romanian spiritual life of that time.

Of the printings preserved in the Gaster collection we mention the "Gospel" printed in Brașov, in 1562 by Coresi¹ and "Cartea românăască de învățătură" (Romanian Book of Teachings) by Varlaam, issued in Iași, in 1643. Varlaam's work stands out due to its boldness and its fine ornaments and engravings. Many other wonderful engravings can be seen in "Îndreptarea legii" (The Guide to the Law), a codex chiefly comprising Byzantine canons and laws translated into Romanian and printed at Tirgoviste, in 1652.

The library of the School of Slavonic and East-European Studies also preserves three copies of the first Bible printed in Romanian in a complete version; it is about Serban Cantacuzino's Bible printed in Bucharest, in 1688. The library also preserves three copies of a bilingual Romanian-Greek Gospel with fine engravings, printed in 1693 by Antim Ivireanul at Snagov. From Moldavia, it preserves a copy of the "Explanation of the Law" a translation from Greek belonging to scholar Ieremia Cacavela, printed at Iași in 1697. Among other books from the 18th century, of great interest is the "Ceaslov" (Breviary) of 1731, written both in Romanian and Slavonic. Of Dimitrie Cantemir's writings the library preserves the 1734 English version of the famous "Incrementa atque decrementa aulae Otomanicae" which was important in acquainting the reader in the West with that question. The above-mentioned collection also includes Ienachita Vacarescu's "Observatii sau bagari de seama asupra regulilor gramaticii românești" (Observations or Notes about the Rules of Romanian Grammar), one of the first grammar books if not the very first, Romanian grammar book, issued in 1787 in two editions.

Another important collection of old Romanian manuscripts and printings is preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It comprises the oldest and most valuable Romanian manuscripts to be found in Great Britain, namely a Gospel copied by miniaturist Gavril Uric of the Neamt monastery, in 1429.

In the British Library is to be found a Romanian manuscript (in Slavonic) probably copied by Mihai Moxa at the Bistrița monastery of Oltenia, between 1620 and 1650. The British Library also preserves a hand-written copy (dating back to the latter half of the 18th century) of Antim Ivireanul's "Didahiile" (Didactics). There is another manuscript in Romanian from the 18th century, preserved at the John Rylands Library of Manchester, namely of choice texts copied in 1768 by Matei Voileanu.

¹ A hand-written copy came to be possessed by Robert Harley, the first Earl of Oxford (deceased in 1724), whose collection is now preserved at the British Library.

Returning to the conflict of interests among the big empires, it should be said that it reached a climax in the second half of the 18th century, endangering the existence and national being of the peoples in the centre and east of Europe. Poland was the first victim, as it was shared in 1772 between Prussia, the Habsburg Empire and the Czarist Empire. A cruel fate befell that time the territories of Walachia and Moldavia.

At the end of the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768-1774, won by czarist Russia, the Habsburg Empire mobilized the army and backed the Porte at the negotiations in order to prevent the Czar from getting too many advantages. As a reward for that assistance, the Habsburgs, by dishonest political scheming and corruption, claimed from the Ottoman Porte a change of frontiers in southern Galicia, by the pretext that they needed a strip of Romanian land to link Galicia, which they had occupied in 1688, to the Habsburg Empire. Producing a forged map, the Habsburgs succeeded in annexing a much wider territory in northern Moldavia. The act of surrender was signed at Palmuta, on the Dniester, in 1775, and afterwards included in the Peace Treaty signed at Sistov by Austria and the Porte in 1791, whereby the northern part of Moldavia, a territory with numerous vestiges of the Romanian history, inclusive of Suceava, the old capital of feudal Moldavia, were ceded to the Habsburg Empire. The act was concluded by the Ottoman Porte, although by virtue of the old Capitulations, it had no right to cede an inch of land from Moldavia. The protest of the masses, of the nobility and of the Romanian clergy, with Prince Grigore Chica at the head, against the violation of the country's territory were in vain. The country's ruler was treacherously murdered by the Ottomans, in Iași, in October 1777. The Habsburg government called the new territory "Austrian Moldavia". Yet soon, in order to conceal the annexation, Austria called it "Bucovina" after the name of the beech woods of Cosmin. By 1786 Bucovina was kept under Austrian military administration, and after that she was joined to Galicia, like a mere administrative district of the latter.

The dark clouds of war, stirred by the enmity among the Ottoman, Habsburg and Czarist empires, that would be joined soon by Napoleon's empire, hovered again over the Romanian Principalities. A new Russian-Turkish war for supremacy in the Black Sea and Danube area started in 1806 and ended with the Bucharest Peace of May 28, 1812. After that "peace", the Ottoman Porte flagrantly violated the obligations assumed under the treaties with the Romanian Principalities, tearing away half of Moldavia's territory to surrender it to czarist Russia as a reward for having accepted the peace conditions. Referring to the unjust character of that treaty, Karl Marx wrote: "The Porte relinquished Bessarabia. Turkey could not cede what did not belong to her, since the Ottoman Porte was never the sovereign of the

Romanian Principalities. The Porte herself had admitted to this when, in Carlowitz, pressed by Poles to cede Moldo-Walachia to them, she answered she was not entitled to make any territorial ceding, since the Capitulations only gave her a right to suzerainty".

Throughout the Middle Ages, the Romanian people had to suffer and cope, through great material and human sacrifices, with the interference of foreign empires and the damage and plunders inflicted by them on its forerunners. Starting in the 14th century, the assets taken by the foreign powers from the Romanian people can be partly traced through documents. In the interval of time between the conclusion of the first treaty between Walachia and the Ottoman Empire and the year of 1877, the analysis of the evolution of the tribute shows the large amounts of gold and produce taken away from the country. All in all, the tribute paid by the Romanian Principalities (Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania) to the Ottoman Empire amounted to 1,066,305,780 gold lei, that is, 341,021 kg of gold.¹ The Habsburg Empire, occupying Transylvania (1687-1918), the Banat (1718-1918), Oltenia (1718-1739) and Bucovina (1775-1918), took from the country, in the form of taxes, cash, military contributions, produce, works of military engineering over 2,450,000,000 gold lei, that is, 857,500 kg of gold. Numerous material assets were appropriated by or paid to the Czarist Empire as well over 1769-1854, when Walachia and Moldavia were occupied by the czarist armies over various periods of time. The obligations in cash and kind on the account of Moldavia and Walachia amounts to 200,000,000 gold lei, that is, 64,516 kg of gold. In addition, there were the material consequences of the annexation of the territory between the Prut and the Dniester. Considerable damage of material assets was caused by the numerous wars between the big empires. The Romanian Principalities, lying in a zone where the big empires' greed and interests coincided, had over the centuries to suffer the course of battles within their frontiers or to look after the maintenance of the troops of one or the other of the empires at war, which used to unconditionally occupy the territory. And so they had to cope with obligations in cash and kind, plunders, fires consuming towns and inestimable damage.

The great national and social uprising led by Horea (1784), the revolution of Tudor Vladimirescu (1821) and the Romanian revolution of 1848 laid foundations for a national romanian programme that would pervade Romania's modern history. That programme, whose fundamental targets were **national unity** and **independence**, was opposed by strong external forces, first of all by the three neighbouring

¹ The transformation of the currency units into gold lei was made taking as the basis the following equivalences: 1 galben (ducat) = 10 gold lei; 1 ban roșu de țară (one red country ban) = 1 ducat; 1 ducat = 10 gold lei; 1 florin = 10 gold lei; 1 asper = 1 gold leu. The conversion into gold was based on the relation 1 gold leu = 0.3225 g.

empires: the Habsburg Empire, the Czarist Empire and the Ottoman Empire. The Romanian patriots logically chose the solution of carrying it through stage-wise. They had to start with what was easier to accomplish: the union of Moldavia and Walachia alone, to begin with, and the formation of a national state—the nucleus around which the whole nation would eventually be rallied. That first step was relatively easier to achieve, since both Principalities were under the Ottoman Porte's suzerainty and had a generally similar organization.

The circumstances linked to the war of the Crimea (1853-1856) facilitated the struggle for the Union of Principalities, but the attainment of that national goal was first of all the fruit of Romanian efforts. The unionist movement was not the movement of several tens or several hundreds of persons, it was a movement of the masses, of all the people, and this is the chief explanation of its success.

Of course, the problem of the Union of Principalities was also a European one. It was repeatedly debated at length beyond the frontiers of those directly concerned, it was a matter of rapprochement or argument, it helped the doing or undoing of understandings among powers. But, at the same time, as early as the Paris Peace Congress of 1856, it became obvious that the powers, bound by the need for a consensus, were not in a position to offer the necessary and hoped for solutions and that their settlements only meant compromises, incomplete measures. Therefore, the European debate offered only a framework for action, and it was still the Romanian nation that produced the solution. Decisive were first of all the elections and debates in the Representative Assemblies created, pursuant to the Paris Convention (the ad-hoc divans), which agreed to two Principalities' Union into a single state. The new European meeting in Paris, in May 1858, which acknowledged the Romanians' wish for union, produced a solution of consensus, of compromise. It was still the Romanians who had to find the final solution. And they found it, through Alexandru Ioan Cuza's twofold election, first as ruler of Moldavia (January 5/17, 1859) and then as ruler of Walachia (January 24/February 5, 1859). The Romanian solution was the way out of the impasse; it was a fully satisfactory solution to the nation but, and this must be stressed, also to the European powers, which is precisely what explains the relatively hurried sanctioning by them of the fact accomplished in Bucharest and Iași.

Whereas Alexandru Ioan Cuza's election led to the materialization of the first stage of the process of building the unitary Romanian national state, it also had the merit of providing necessary prerequisites for the building of the new state. Hence, it was not a conservative union, confined to deleting an anachronical frontier, but an action that opened wide thoroughfares to progress, to the transformation and renewal of the statal institutions. The reforms made in the seven years of A. I. Cuza's rule opened prospects for the Romanian nation's march forward

and provided premises for the future victories of the Romanian people. It was obvious that the United Principalities would reject, in the next historical stage, their maintenance in an unnatural and humiliating subordination which had not the least justification.

Whereas the Prince of the Union was unable to round off the building of the national state with the winning of independence, it is just as true that the changing of the Romanian state's international status was thoroughly prepared throughout his rule in every respect. The 1859 Union would prove to be the prologue to the winning of independence. As a matter of fact, to many clear-sighted politicians, whether friends or foes, the fact was clear as early as 1859. "The twofold election—a Belgian diplomat said in the very year of the Union—equals the union of the Principalities: the Union of the Principalities means their independence"—And the Austrian ambassador in Paris, Hübner, stated that same year that his government "did not want the Principalities' independence and therefore it opposes their union".

In the period prior to the proclamation of independence, Romania asserted herself on an external plane by political acts that clearly defined her entity in the international relations and expressed her aspiration after self-dependence. Starting in 1871, conventions were signed with Austro-Hungary, Serbia and Russia and diplomatic agencies were opened in Berlin, Rome and St. Petersburg, acts of foreign policy whose significance speaks of the reality of Romania's international position. In fact, she asserted herself as a free and independent state which had only one more step to take for the *de jure* consecration of that reality.

The Romanian government tried several times to take that step by 1877, seeking the country's self-dependence by peaceful means, either by direct understanding with the Porte or with the support of the European powers. The failure of those attempts made the Romanian government give up the peaceful solution it had pursued so far for the winning of independence, and turn to a military solution, the only way left towards the attainment of that goal.

Such a solution was favoured by the international situation of 1876-1877, since south-Danubian peoples had already started the anti-Ottoman struggle and Russia made intense military preparations for a war against the Ottoman Empire. Under the circumstances, a Romanian-Russian convention was concluded in Bucharest, on April 4, 1877, whereby the Russian armies were allowed to cross Romania's territory toward the Balkans; likewise, the Russian government committed itself to maintain and defend the country's territorial integrity and to observe the Romanian state's political rights. Then, there came the bombing of the Romanian Danube ports by the Ottoman artillery, retaliated by the

Romanian government with the proclamation of independence, on May 9, 1877. In August 1877, the Romanian troops, at the request of the high command of the Russian front in the Balkans, crossed the Danube and started fighting against the Ottoman army. At Plevna and Grivita, at Rahova, Smirdan and Vidin the young Romanian army earned glory for itself, with 10,000 privates and officers shedding their blood for the homeland's independence. The Berlin Peace Congress of June-July 1878, where Romania was not allowed, sanctioned the existence of a new independent state—Romania—in Europe; at the same time the ancient Romanian land of Dobrogea was freed of the Ottoman rule and redceded to the authority of the Romanian state. In exchange, Czarist Russia, the former ally, took the south of Bessarabia from Romania, which had been retroceded to Moldavia under The Paris Treaty (1856).

By winning state independence, Romania joined with full rights the concert of the world sovereign nations, on an equal footing with the other states. The Romanian state's interests could be thus better defended and promoted and the cause of completing national unity—the fundamental task the Romanian people had to cope with in the next historical stage—could be better served. As a matter of fact, the unity of all Romanians, beyond the frontiers imposed by historical vicissitudes, was powerfully manifest during the war. It was not only the sympathy with which the Romanians outside the country's frontiers viewed the victories of the Romanian army south of the Danube, but also the important material support they gave to a cause which was their cause too, and especially the tens and hundreds of volunteers from Transylvania and Bucovina who, facing the malevolence of statal authorities who were positively hostile to the affirmation of the Romanian state, sacrificed themselves for the independence of their true homeland, Romania. The winning of independence strongly impressed itself on the conscience of the Romanians living outside the country's frontiers and it generated varied forms of fighting in which they expressed their wish to get rid of foreign domination and unite the country. "One cannot imagine", acknowledged count Stefan Bethlen in the Budapest Parliament, "the spiritual influence exerted on the Romanian souls by the existence of the independent Romanian state... As independent Romania's prestige with the Romanians in Hungary has grown, their policy too, has become more daring. They are aiming at their territory being united to the Romanian kingdom at a convenient time".

Romanian Principalities were visited by numerous British travellers, whose memoirs provided details of our people's economic and social life in those times. The first British Consul was quartered in Bucharest in 1802 and after that, a British consulate was inaugurated in Iași and vice-consulates were opened at Galati and Brăila. In 1837, the

Bucharest office was promoted to consulate-general. Commercial relations were expanded and developed at the same time.

The Romanian people's development, their struggle for the attainment of unity and independence were followed with interest by quarters of public opinion in Great Britain; as a matter of fact, works were printed exclusively devoted to the Romanian Principalities. The representatives of the 1848 Romanian revolutionists, just like the promoters of the ideals of the Union of the Romanian Principalities, found sympathy and understanding in Great Britain. At that very time an association of friendship with the Romanian people was founded in London. In October 1857, Gladstone, who was to become prime minister, tabled at the House of Commons, a motion favouring the Union, and participants in a public meeting at Brighton voted a petition, sent to Queen Victoria, expressing empathy for the cause of the Union of the Romanian Principalities. On February 20, 1880 the British government handed over, through its general consul in Bucharest, an official note to the Romanian foreign minister, whereby Romania was acknowledged as independent and sovereign state and the wish was expressed to establish diplomatic relations at a legation level. The recognition then of Romania as an independent state by Great Britain, just as by numerous other states, would help consolidate the newly-gained independence and the affirmation of the country internationally.

In the period subsequent to 1877-1878 the national struggle of Romanians in Transylvania and Bucovina grew more and more tenacious, helping the Romanian society of Transylvania to offer resistance to the Hungarian governments' policy of denationalization and also to get ready for the Great Union of 1918. At the same time, south and east of the Carpathians, in Romania, that struggle was followed with utmost attention and directly and indirectly backed, both materially and morally, by the most diverse quarters of public opinion, by broad socio-political forces that were proud to support the cause of the Romanian people's unity.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the socio-economic development on either side of the Carpathians and the progress of the Romanian society in every domain, brought before the Romanian nation as a whole the necessity of completing their statal and national unity. "The problem that deeply preoccupied the social classes, the masses of people of Romania", said President Nicolae Ceaușescu, "was the setting up of a unitary national state—a century-old aspiration of the Romanian people, a law-like necessity for the development of Romanian society".

The beginning of the First World War made this task imperative. On July 28, 1914 Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia and, as is known,

in less than one month the war swept across all big European powers. In that clash of forces, the participation in war of some nations and states was subordinated to ends of national interest: defence, freeing of territories that were under foreign rule, national and political emancipation, the formation or rounding off of independent and sovereign national unitary states. Belonging to that category were the Serbians, Croatians, Slovaks, Poles and, certainly, the Romanians. Therefore, the decision made by Romania in August 1916 to enter the war against Austro-Hungary was quite justified historically, it was a legitimate act stemming from the necessity of "rounding off".

As a matter of fact, by the convention of alliance concluded on August 4, 1916 between Romania, Russia, England, France and Italy, the Entente acknowledged Romania's right to claim, at the end of the war, all Romanian territories from Austro-Hungary. That is why Romania joined the war, that is why the Romanian soldiers fought at Maraști, Marașesti and Oituz in the summer of 1917 (where they managed to bar the advance of the German-Austrian-Hungarian troops, whose march forward no one else was able to halt), that was the only reason why the 800,000 killed, wounded and missing Romanians (some ten per cent of the country's population!) sacrificed themselves.

The movement of the oppressed peoples in the big multi-national empires for national self-determination and the shaking off of foreign domination grew more intense in the last stage of the World War. After the October 1917 Russian revolution, proclaimed the people's right to self-determination—and US President Wilson supported that principle in January 1918, basing on it the conditions of peace negotiations with the Central Powers—the people's liberation movement recorded an unprecedented upsurge. The Czechs, the Slovaks, the Poles, the Croats, the Slovaks, the Latvians, the Estonians, the Lithuanians, the Finns, all proclaimed one by one their independence.

That movement of the peoples, which swept wide expanses, encompassed also the Romanians' struggle for the completion of statal unity. The first Romanian province to proclaim its union to the country was Bessarabia (March 27/April 9, 1918), followed by Bucovina (November 15/28, 1918) and Transylvania (November 18/December 1, 1918). The Union of Transylvania, Bucovina and Bessarabia to Romania was made through Representative Assemblies of every province elected on the basis of universal vote or by legally constituted organizations; the presence of participant crowds in those assemblies added to their representative character the character of a plebiscite. In Kishinev and Chernovtsy, representatives of the minorities, too, were on the assemblies that voted the Union; in Transylvania and the Banat, the Saxons, Swabs, Slovaks, Jews, representatives of the Magyar population had the possibility to express their adhesion to the Union to

Romania all through 1919 by national congresses, representative assemblies, letters, memoirs to the Peace Conference in Paris (1919-1920) or in the press. The Paris Peace Conference after the First World War only had to take account of the Romanian people's unanimously expressed will and endorse an actual situation, giving it international legal consecration.

In the perspective of history, the grand achievements of the Romanian people of 1918 are the expression of the Romanian nation's struggle and sacrifice, of the century-old aspirations of a people determined to live united, free and independent in the ancestors' land. Pointing to the historical circumstances of completion of that process, President Nicolae Ceaușescu said: "Therefore, the formation of the unitary Romanian national state is not a gift, it is not the result of international conferences; it is the result of the tireless struggle for unity waged by the most progressive forces of society and by the broad masses of the people, a natural outcome of the historical, social and national development of the Romanian people."

The 1918 Union provided the national and socio-economic framework for the development of modern Romania and had a positive impact on the country's economic, political and social evolution, on its affirmation, in the international arena, as a unitary and sovereign state. Important democratic reforms were endorsed in the next period, such as the election reform, the land reform, the administrative reform and the financial reform. A new Constitution was endorsed in 1923, which proclaimed the unitary character of the independent and sovereign state, the equality of all citizens before the law, irrespective of nationality, the right to work, the freedom of speech and press.

The union brought about important changes in the situation and structure of the working class, too. The gathering of the forces of the Romanian proletariat into one state led to its growing role in the country's life. The number of workers in industry and transport mounted to almost 550,000; to them, we should also add some 200,000 forest workers, plus numerous farm workers.

"The formation and development of the Romanian Principalities", stresses Nicolae Ceaușescu, "took place in difficult conditions; they had to maintain their existence, fighting against the domination or tendencies of domination of three big empires—the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Czarist Empire. It is obvious that these historical circumstances and the long wars that had to be fought against foreign domination, determined an economic and social backwardness, being the main obstacle in the formation and development of the unitary national state of the Romanians. Under such circumstances, the mass of people, the leaders of the three

principalities always acted for the independent development, for the strengthening of the mutual links and feelings.

"As evidence of all this are the facts, the social and national struggles unfolded for centuries on end, the active participation in international life at that time. Further evidence is given in the peasant uprisings, the revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848 that, in one form or another swept equally all the three Romanian Principalities, the union of Walachia and Moldavia and the coming into being of the Romanian national state in 1859. You know the manifestations of sympathy of the popular mass in Transylvania, the active position of Transylvanian intellectuals in demonstrating and inducing the recognition of the Romanian character of Transylvania, in the union to the new Romanian national state. The independence war, an affirmation of the Romanian people's will to shake off foreign domination for ever, occasioned another manifestation of the population of Transylvania for Romania's independence, for the union to the country. These feelings continued to develop and triumphed with the formation of the unitary national state in 1918, as a result of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire, of the affirmation in Alba Iulia of the free will of the popular mass in Transylvania, who unanimously decided the union to the country. The formation of the unitary national state meant the crowning of century-old struggles, of the aspirations of the Romanians everywhere to have their own unitary, independent state, to live free, in peace and collaboration with their neighbours, with other peoples."

The glorious deeds of history were greatly valued in the village where Nicolae Ceaușescu was born and grew up. This is explained by the participation of the local people, over the years, in some of the most important events of their difficult past. Four of Prince Michael the Brave's captains, the man who accomplished in 1600 the first union of the Romanian Principalities, came from those places. In the houses of Scornicești they used to evoke the legendary figures of such great statesmen as Mircea the Old, Stephen the Great, Tudor Vladimirescu. They knew and respected the ideals of the 1848 revolutionists headed by Nicolae Bălcescu, a scholar dear to the Romanians' hearts. There too, like everywhere where Romanians live, the accomplishment of the Union of the Principalities—Walachia and Moldavia—in 1859, through Alexandru Ioan Cuza's election as Prince, enjoyed great esteem. People got to know swiftly and never forget the deeds of valor or the Romanian soldiers for the winning of the independence in 1877-1878. One should start from here, from the knowledge of history, in order to understand the thoughts, the way of action, the life and activity of he who is now at the head of the Romanian people. The anti-feudal peasant uprisings led by Doja, Horea, Cloșca and Crișan in

Transylvania, the big peasant uprising of 1907, which swept all villages of Moldavia, Wallachia and Oltenia, turned into blood baths by the rich classes, stirred his childlike imagination and contributed to moulding his character.

The birth year of Nicolae Ceaușescu, 1918, thus coincided with the realisation of the eternal dream of Romanians in all Romanian provinces. His youthful years passed under the token of affirmation in the social arena of the proletariat, who were impressed more and more by the ideas of scientific socialism. Those were the ideas underlying, as early as the 7th and 8th decades of the previous century, the organisation of the working class in Romania. The first political party of the working class, called the Social-Democratic Party of Workers of Romania, founded in 1893, was among the first workers' parties in Europe. The Romanian workers' revolutionary activity in the subsequent period would proceed under the token of the aspiration for the society's general progress, also asserting itself in the field of international worker solidarity, against the war and against all kinds of domination and exploitation.

In October 1917, the victory of the socialist revolution of Russia led to the collapse of that terrible "prison of peoples" as they used to call the czarist empire. As a result, the first state of workers and peasants came into being in the world. It opened the era of building a new, class-less social system, the socialist and communist era. In those years, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire went to pieces, the process of formation of the national states in the centre and south-east of Europe was completed. Those were years of strong affirmation of the wish for social change. Those were years of affirmation of the workers' struggle in Romania for democratic freedom, when the question stood to the fore, of turning the Socialist Party into a new party—the Romanian Communist Party—that would lead the working class to winning its rights, to carrying through its programme of changing society.

The working-class movement in Romania had to cope right after 1918 with the question of its centralization on a national scale and the arming of the united party with a unitary programme in harmony with the requirements of the new development stage of the country. Standing from the very beginning for this major desideratum were both the Socialist Party of old Romania and the socialist parties in the Romanian provinces that joined again the country. In the years that followed, intense debates were conducted within the working-class movement in a democratic framework, about the strategy and tactics of the Socialist Party, and they gradually reached the crystalization of a revolutionary programme to cope with the current and future tasks of the working-class movement, with the concrete historical conditions in Romania. Concomitantly, the process of organizational unification

of the working-class movement proceeded. In such conditions, the Congress of the Socialist Party opened on May 8, 1921, that had the task of consecrating the unification of the working-class movement in Romania and to adjusting it, by the endorsed documents and decisions, to the new tasks linked to the changes in post-war Romanian society. The Congress discussed and endorsed the Party's programme for the new development stage of the Romanian society, which re-affirmed the working class' historical mission. Therefore, the May 1921 Congress was recorded by the history of the working-class movement as the Big Congress of unification of the socialist organizations throughout greater Romania, to fully giving direction to the party of the working class, based on the communist programme and action. The Communist Party organized its forces nation-wide, while all the other parties did not cope yet with that historical demand; thus, the Communist Party was a patriotic, national party.

Celebrating on May 8, 1981, 60 years since the foundation of the Romanian Communist Party—President Nicolae Ceaușescu made a series of remarks that deserve mention. In preparing the building of the Party, the delegations who discussed with Lenin the character of the future party of the Romanians, overtly and clearly approached, from the very beginning, the question of the "party's autonomy and independence", "of its right to self-dependently work out its political line in harmony with the historical conditions in Romania", as the participation in the Communist International was considered as "an expression of international solidarity and not its right to interfere in the life of their party". It is clear how dear to the Romanian communists the idea of independence was from the very beginning.

The moment of foundation of the communist party is appreciated today in Romania as fundamental for the whole development of the country and of the Romanian people. Nicolae Ceaușescu says that "the foundation of the Communist Party of Romania was the triumph of the revolutionary conception, of scientific socialism, of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, being a historic moment of outstanding importance in the revolutionary movement, and in the organization of the future fight of the proletariat, of the oppressed masses in Romania".

Childhood

An important page in President Nicolae Ceaușescu's biography started in 1929. He was 11 and the family decided to send him to Bucharest to learn a trade. He thus entered, when only a child, the proletarian milieu, started living among the workers, experiencing the exploitation, the social injustice, the way of thinking, the preoccupations and aspirations of the working class in Romania.

It was marked by the first significant class battle in the period of economic crisis—the strike of the Lipeni miners, turned into a blood bath by the government of the National-Peasant Party. That was the time when Nicolae Ceaușescu started attending workers' meetings. With unusual ardour and easily noticed by the people around him, the young Ceaușescu frequented the libraries of workers' clubs, studying Marxist literature, history books, and leaflets issued by the Party.

"We are at the beginning of the rising of the revolutionary wave in Romania" stated a leaflet issued by the communist party and its youth organization in 1930.

The workers' social fighting grew more intense in 1931–1932. The working youth in Bucharest became acquainted with Nicolae Ceaușescu's name. Attracted by the ideas of the communist party and convinced of their virtues he became engrossed in the revolutionary struggle. Standing proof is the secret record compiled on him by the police, who started keeping an eye on him.

In 1933, fascists seized power in Germany and Adolf Hitler became chancellor, establishing the Nazi dictatorship and starting preparations for the aggression on Europe. A large number of progressive youth directly participated in the working-class movement led by the Communist Party.

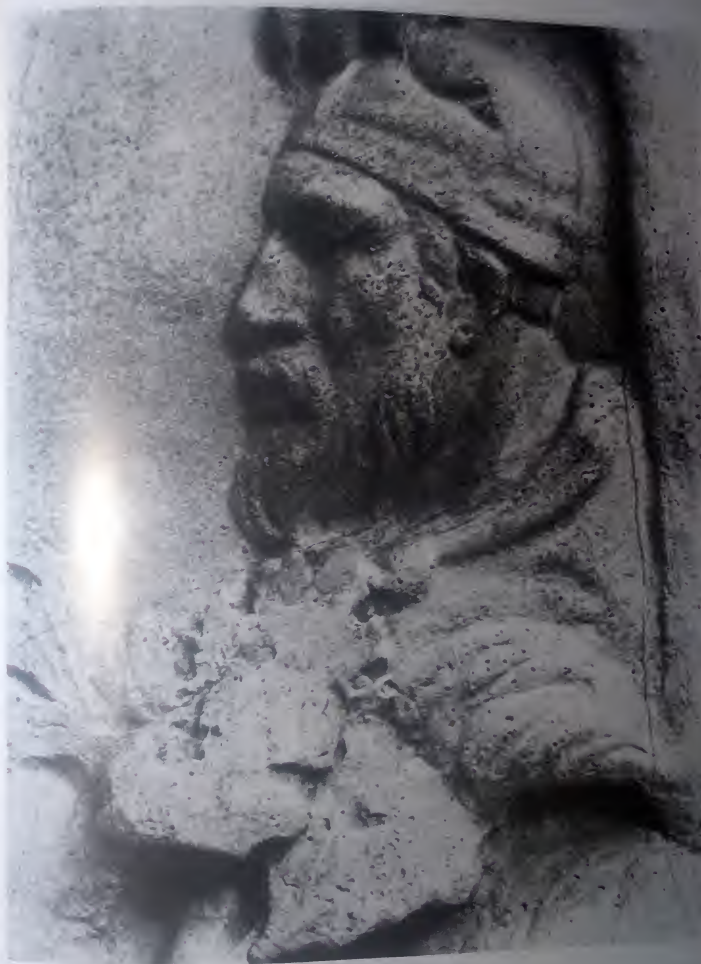
That was the year when young Nicolae Ceaușescu joined the Union of Communist Youth, fully and definitively committing himself to the revolutionary movement in Romania and the struggle of the Communist Party.

What did the Communist Party do at that time? It evolved sustained political and organizational activity with the worker masses, standing against the penetration of fascism, making the decision to set up a special body to rally the various mass, democratic organizations in the anti-fascist struggle.

Consequently, the Conference of the Anti-Fascist Campaigners of Romania was organized and Nicolae Ceaușescu attended as representative of the democratic youth of Bucharest. It was the first, "official", confirmation of his qualities and of the activities he participated in. Realizing an innate sense of organization, the young worker with burning eyes, enthusiastic and daring, had asserted himself with the workers of his generation. The proof: the Conference elected him member of the National Anti-Fascist Committee. He was only fifteen!

Joining the Working-class Movement

The Communist Party and its youth organization guided the political and cultural activities within the trade union movement. Rousing speeches were delivered, theoretical and political lectures were given on topical matters, patriotic and revolutionary poems were recited and



Decebalus



Statue of the She-wolf (Romulus and Remus)



Pillar of a bridge built by the Romans at Turnu Severin, on the Danube (104 A.D.)



Treasures unearthed in Hinova-Mehedinti, Romania



The battle fought at Posada by Romanians against the Hungarian King Charles Robert (1330 A.D.)



The Leaders of the 1784-1785 uprising; Horea, Closca, Crisan



Tudor Vladimirescu, Leader of Fight against Ottomans (1821)



Romanians and Magyars in Transylvania demonstrating against the Vienna diktat (1940)



Romanian military in the anti-Hitler front en route to Budapest (January 1945)

Scânteia

ORGAN AL COMITETULUI CENTRAL al P. C. R.

VICTORIE!



Daily 'Scinteia' announcing the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition



Romanian troops in Bucharest on the first day of the fight against Hitlerite invaders (24th August 1924)



Popular gathering in Bucharest on the proclamation of the Republic (30th December 1947)

the older members were joined in such activities by the young Nicolae Ceaușescu. From his first addresses he convinced those present that he stood by the experienced revolutionists, able to enthuse the masses, to convince them of the lofty ideas of the Party and to make them follow the communists.

"I was one of the leaders of that organization," remembers professor Petre Constantinescu-Iași, speaking of the foundation of the National Anti-Fascist Committee, when the Party leadership told us the name of a young worker who would speak on behalf of the communist youth. I asked who the young man was 'You shall see him and you shall like him. I was answered, Nicolae Ceaușescu, a worker, an enthusiast, an intelligent young man with a work potential rarely seen.' I asked: 'Where did you find this 15 year-old young anti-fascist campaigner?' The answer was: 'In the two years since he has been working with us as a UCY activist, he has proved his capability and the qualities that make of him a reliable young member of the Party'...

And the day of the meeting came. A slender, dark-haired youth was given the floor. He spoke with a resolution stemming from a sincere confidence in the validity of the idea he was upholding, from the very creed to which, it was obvious, he had dedicated himself."

In 1932-1933, Romania was the venue of a great wave of revolutionary movements which swept the most important oil and railway worker centres, culminating in the occupation, short-lived as it was, of the town of Ploiesti by the working class. The strikes of February 1933 at the "Grivița" works in Bucharest followed. Gheorghiu-Dej, Dumitru Petrescu, Constantin Doncea, Vasile Bigu, Gheorghe Vasilichi, Ilie Pintilie and other leaders coming from among the workers asserted themselves in the organization and leadership of those strikes which the government suppressed by an old and tested method: it sent soldiers with orders to shoot at the strikers. The internal and international reverberation to these revolutionary movements was great. After the bloody repression, instead of getting weaker, the working class got better organized under the leadership of the Communist Party. The number of democratic and anti-fascist organizations grew and the struggle in defence of the workers' rights amplified. The foreign press stressed that the workers' strikes in Romania in 1932-1933 were the first great manifestations of protest in Europe against the penetration of fascism and preparations for war.

During these strong worker manifestations, Nicolae Ceaușescu was permanently with the strikers, the year of his joining the Party coinciding with the strikes at the Grivița.

In 1934, the trial of the leaders of the January-February 1933 revolutionary struggles of the railway and oil workers took place at Craiova. Public opinion at home and abroad strongly stood in their defence and the young Nicolae Ceaușescu demonstrated against the

terror unleashed by the government Police records of that time show that on May 1, 1934 he was among the Bucharest workers carrying such slogans as: "We demand the freedom of the railway workers!", "Down with the Fascism!", "Down with the War".

Together with other young comrades of struggle, Nicolae Ceaușescu went to Craiova, several hundred kilometres from Bucharest, with numerous subscription lists and motions of protest against the trial, signed by a large number of Bucharest workers and citizens. Traced by the police, who strived to undermine solidarity with the workers under arrest, Nicolae Ceaușescu and the other youths were put under arrest and sent to the Prosecutor's Office of the Dolj Court. In front of the investigators, Nicolae Ceaușescu stated that his presence at the place of the trial did not infringe upon any law, since he was commissioned by the Bucharest workers to protest before the court and, obviously "to support the tried railway workers". The Prosecutor's Office of the Dolj Court, pressed by protests from public opinion, had to close the file, as it contained no evidence and the freed youths returned to Bucharest. They were preceded by a letter of the Ministry of the Interior warning the Bucharest police: "We warn you, so that you may act accordingly, about young communists like Nicolae Ceaușescu /...../, as it is proved that they have gathered the support of worker solidarity for the railway workers sentenced in the trial of the uprising".

The police started following the young communist in Bucharest. Consequently, in the summer of that very year, Nicolae Ceaușescu was arrested again and imprisoned at the Bucharest Police Prefect's Office. The charges against him were the participation on August 26 in the secret meeting of the Anti-Fascist and Anti-War Committee and the dissemination of communist revolutionary leaflets. Sent for investigation and trial to the War Council of Army Corps II, he was set free but he was arrested again after only three weeks for having attended an anti-fascist meeting on "How to prepare Romanian public opinion in order to impose the right to equality for all citizens of the country". Among the detainees, there were the journalist Scarlat Callimachi, the student and would-be newsman Grigore Preoteasa, as well as other anti-fascist youths.

Nicolae Ceaușescu, who had become a professional activist, daringly coped with the tough "order" of the bourgeois society: in the name of truth and of social justice, he was ready to face any danger, to sacrifice his own freedom and life. This fact is demonstrated by his behaviour in the reprisals put up by the bourgeois-landlord police. The dailies issued on November 14, 1934, including "Dimineata", wrote that a deputation made up of P. Constatinescu-Iași, Scarlat Callimachi, Stefan Voitec and others advanced a protest to the Minister of the Interior whose fourth point mentioned "the manhandling at the

Bucharest Police of worker Nicolae Ceaușescu, member of the National Anti-Fascist Committee".

Set free, Nicolae Ceaușescu continued his work of organization and propaganda among the working and studying youth, for the creation of the anti-fascist popular front. The police were however on his tracks and before the year ended he was arrested again. His investigators characterized him as "a dangerous communist agitator". With no more investigation, he was put under arrest and "sent to his place", that is, to his native village, at Scornicești. Walking 200 km barely eating or sleeping, Nicolae Ceaușescu returned to his parents' home.

Nothing had changed there: the worries, the work, the poverty were as before. He celebrated his 17th birthday with his family, who knew that their son's only "guilt" was his aspiration for social justice.

In the Heat of Revolutionary Struggle

In spite of his sentence Nicolae Ceaușescu did not remain in his village for long. His heart urged him to go where his duties, to which he had wilfully devoted everything, awaited him. Disregarding the confinement imposed on him by the Secret Police, he returned to Bucharest to continue his revolutionary struggle.

The workers in the capital got to know him even better, soon appreciating his courage and intelligence, the maturity of his political thinking, his ardour and dedication to the interests of the working class. Starting in 1935 he continued his activity as secretary of the UCY in Bucharest and then as secretary of the Oltenia UCY Regional Committee. He quickly asserted himself as a "reliable organizer", "remarkable agitator", and a "passionate student of the revolutionary theory". Although engrossed in daily practical activity, he also found time to read and annotate socio-political, historical books and fiction, sparing no effort for his instruction.

In the autumn of 1935 and in the first part of 1936, Nicolae Ceaușescu led the UCY organisations in the worker region of Prahova, not far from the capital, upon instructions from the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. While he was attending a meeting in the Ulmi commune—Dimbovița, he was again apprehended by the Secret Police. He was put under arrest with other workers and sent to the Tîrgoviște Secret Police where he was investigated and interrogated by means for which the bourgeois repressive bodies had earned considerable notoriety. Protesting against the manhandling, Nicolae Ceaușescu declared a seven-day hunger strike. Of the propaganda materials he was proved to have disseminated in the counties of Dimbovița and Prahova, the inquest mentioned the booklet "*The danger of War and Fascism*". Sent to the Brasov jail, Nicolae Ceaușescu was deferred for trial, together with

other communists, to the Court of the Command of the Army Corps V in the city. It was May, 1936.

The trial was famous, among other things, for Ceaușescu's most courageous behaviour. The debates in the court were extensively featured in the press of the time. The defendants' way of defending themselves, their dignity, profound patriotism and revolutionary ardour, the evidence of the defendants' witnesses and the pleas of the lawyers sent to Bucharest by the Party, were all vividly commented on in the democratic newspapers and in anti-fascist publications.

The communists decided to turn the court into a rostrum to expose the danger of fascism, the tendencies of bringing it to Rumania and the war preparations. When one of the defendants was arbitrarily ruled out of the court, Nicolae Ceaușescu, urged all the defendants to leave the court. Because of this gesture, the court sentenced him to six months jail for "the offence of outrage". Telegrams, letters of solidarity with the defendants and protests were sent in from various parts of the country to the Brașov court and public opinion was generally alarmed by the arbitrariness that ruled in the court debates.

→ As the trial ended, Nicolae Ceaușescu was sentenced to two years imprisonment and a 2,000 lei fine converted into several months confinement, plus the six months for the offence of outrage, and one year of confinement to domicile after serving the sentence.

At an age when most young men are about to leave the lyceum, Nicolae Ceaușescu was thrown into the notorious stone and iron jail of Doftana. Built at the end of the last century on the ruins of the Telega salt pit where the enemies of the rulers had been sent to rot, Doftana used to be known as the "Romanian Bastille". The communists, who had participated in the foundation of the working class' party, found there some of the hero peasants of 1907, forgotten in chains after the first world war and more communists were taken there, after the sentencing of the party, to serve their term. Many leaders of the Party and of the Union of Communist Youth in fact suffered there, sentenced to hard years of jail.

Repeated protests against the inhumane treatment of the political detainees were strongly echoed at home and abroad. But in their recollections, written or told, the former Doftana inmates insist that, despite all reprisals, Doftana remained a true political university and a high school of personalities. "What the echo of the wall tells/Is the rotting of the stone and not the souls . . .", reads one of the numerous poems produced in the shadows of the dungeons.

Nicolae Ceaușescu spent several years of his life in that world of both terror and political fortification. Used to all kinds of hardships and being of strong will, he made his presence felt right away.

From the very first year, the young revolutionist was subjected to all

forms of terror, including the "terror of silence" of the brutal "H" cell, known to be the most merciless and inhumane. Yet, nothing could frighten him.

The political detainees had established an efficient means of communication with the Party leadership outside the prison, which the long experience of the Doftana inmates had built with the accuracy of a watch. Perfect discipline ensured the absolute secrecy of actions, despite the presence and activity of paid spies and professional provocateurs.

The Party organization used to entrust to the young Nicolae Ceaușescu more and more difficult tasks. Being less known by the prison guards and spies at the beginning, he was assigned the task of strengthening links with the detainees in the sections that were not meant for communists. The administration, however, learned that "disturbing" texts were being circulated in the jail. As a matter of fact, there is a note to be found in his record, in which he was suspected of "subversive activity in the prison" and termed as "dangerous communist agitator". Likewise, his permanent opposition to the regime of terror made the administration label him as "recalcitrant".

Those who knew him in the jail of Doftana have spoken of the vigour with which he participated in the actions organized by the Communist Party, his very close personal contacts with the other inmates, especially those whom he wanted to win over to the ideals of communists and his firmness in defending the new inmates. He was skilled in getting news and information from the outside, which he circulated to the communist detainees. Because of his energetic, ardent spirit the inmates affectionately and praisingly called him "the quick silver of Doftana".

→ On December 8, 1938, pocketing a certificate that showed that he had served the hard sentence issued by the Brașov Court, Nicolae Ceaușescu left Doftana. Within a month he would be 21.

What were his thoughts? He had important things to do, which he was now able to start more wisely. There was something the prison certificate did not testify: "the school of Doftana" sent him armed and ready for action, to one of the most eventful stages of the struggle for national and social freedom in Romania.

"He who learned at the tough school of Doftana", Nicolae Ceaușescu later said "will never give up the cause of socialism and communism".

Leader of the Communist Youth

At the beginning of 1939, when Nicolae Ceaușescu returned to the capital, the Communist Party focused its attention on the guilds of workers, clerks and craftsmen which, according to the King's intention,

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would replace the workers' trade unions that had been dismantled a few months earlier.

The main task for the Communist Party in 1939 was to seek out efficient forms of action to suit the new situation. To that end, it directed its actions towards strengthening the collaboration and co-operation within the United Workers' Front with the Social-Democratic and the Socialist Parties, with all anti-fascist, democratic, patriotic forces interested in defending the country's independence and sovereignty. Together with other activists of the Communist Party, Nicolae Ceaușescu was assigned the task of continuing activity with the workers' guilds. Establishing contacts for the strengthening of the collaboration with representatives of the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties he organized worker demonstrations in enterprises, in various sectors of the capital.

Many of the actions organized by communists within the guilds were in the form of cultural events. Such opportunities were taken by Nicolae Ceaușescu to urge the socialist and social-democrat workers to act in close unity with the communists in defence of democratic rights, against the danger of turning the country fascist and against war preparations.

The results of such actions would be soon conspicuous.

On May 1, 1939, King Carol II wanted to organize an official "worker demonstration" to coincide with a kind of congress of all guilds. This was a scheme intended to demobilize the workers, to weaken, disunite and defeat them. Agreeing to the "demonstration", the workers, led by communists, decided to turn it into an anti-fascist demonstration. Those instructed to carry through that task included Nicolae Ceaușescu, whose participation in the organizational preparations was most important. Although he was followed permanently and had to change his address every few days, he, together with other prominent activists of the Communist Party—among them Constantin David and Ilie Pintilie—arranged the preparation of the demonstration, organizing meetings with workers, intellectuals and students.

When the King appeared on the balcony of the Palace to receive the ovations of the guilds, much to the monarch's bewilderment and amazement, twenty thousand people started shouting slogans of the Communist Party: "Down with Fascism!", "Down with War!", "We Want a Free and Independent Romania!".

On the same May Day afternoon a traditional open-air feast was organized, and Nicolae Ceaușescu managed to lend to that feast, an obvious political character. At the "Workers' Stadium" in the Filaret district, money was raised for the "Red Aid" and demonstrations were held under the Communist Party's slogan: "People's Front for the Fight against Fascism and for Peace!".

The day of May 1, 1939 thus acquired quite a special significance. In the internal and international political ambience it expressed the determination of the working class, of the progressive forces in Romania, to fight against fascism, against war preparations, in defence of democracy, of the country's independence and sovereignty.

The world conference for peace and democracy, held in Paris on May 13-14, 1939, pointed out that the Bucharest demonstrations of May Day 1939 were "a proof that the Romanian people joins the anti-fascist movement and that its will is to really fight against the aggressor and against fascism".

But the day of May 1, 1939 also marked an important success in communist Nicolae Ceaușescu's revolutionary activity; he had actively participated in the preparation and unfolding of the strong manifestation organized by the party, which had turned into a luminous page in the history of the Romanian people's struggle for national and social freedom.

Romania was going through hard years. The Communist Party perseveringly prepared its cadres. Prominent party members of Bucharest and other localities were sent to the higher school of the party's Central Committee—the first cadres' school organized in the country by the Communist Party, sheltered in a secret house of Ploiești. Nicolae Ceaușescu was among the first students of that school and the party activists shared the appreciation that, by his outstanding qualities, he was "a promising cadre of the party's leadership". The courses were prepared by Lucretiu Patrașcanu and other party leaders. While in the school, Nicolae Ceaușescu distinguished himself not only by in-depth studies, but also by the value of original works regarding the position of the Communist Party vis-a-vis the activity within the workers' guilds and the unity of action of the working class.

Back in the capital, Nicolae Ceaușescu actively participated in the work for the reorganization of the revolutionary youth.

The situation of the communist youth had become more complicated in 1936 when the quite unjustified step was taken to abolish the youth revolutionary organizations. It resulted from a narrow-minded application of a resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Youth Communist International. Nicolae Ceaușescu was to find out from his own experience how harmful these decisions were, made outside the national organizations and disregarding the concrete, specific conditions of every country.

A Central Commission for the reorganization of the Union of Communist Youth was made up in Bucharest, under the leadership of Nicolae Ceaușescu. Comprising experienced party activists, it had the mission to draft directives for the political orientation, methods of activity and forms of work for the organization.

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Nicolae Ceaușescu dedicated all his energy to that activity. He established direct contacts with broad sectors of young workers, students and other social categories, involving them in the revolutionary and anti-fascist movement. Quite telling is a briefing of the Secret Police dated May 18, 1939, which reads: "... The Central Commission of the communist youth of the Capital, led by Nicolae Ceaușescu, who served a sentence for communist activity, decided to start propagandist action against the youth's organization into the 'Country's Scouts' and against premilitary instruction, claiming that these institutions are aimed at the fascination of the working and intellectual youth."

Meetings, cultural events, feasts followed by political discussions were organized in that period in factories, institutions and faculties in Bucharest, Iași, Cluj, Timișoara, Galați, Ploiești and Brașov.

In August, the guild of leather and footwear industry workers of Bucharest had the initiative to organize an open-air feast. The record of the Secret Police covers the facts: a genuine press coverage, making up for the one the press would not be allowed to release. "The feast", the record of the Secret Police shows, "proceeded quietly until the moment when the communists turned it into a demonstration." "The agitators", the record continues, "were headed by the known communist Nicolae Ceaușescu, a member of the Central Commission of the Communist Youth, who took advantage of the feast in order to demonstrate and launch such slogans as 'We want the setting free of the political detainees', 'We want better political regime in prisons', 'Lift the ban on us'. The account further shows that by the end of the feast: 'communist Lenuța Petrescu, a worker of the 'Jacquard' factory, identified as the leader of the youth section of the Fourth Green Sector, addressed the workers, saying: 'We thank the conscientious proletariat for the efforts deployed in defence of freedom and of the martyrs of the working class. We demand bread, justice and a legal status!'"

Life always holds its surprises in store for us. Who would have imagined, on that night in August 1939, that the "communist agitator" Lenuța Petrescu would become the lifetime companion of the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, that she would be some day, as she is now, a member of the Party leadership, a scientist of repute at home and abroad and a member of the Romanian Academy.

The Conference for the remaking of the Union of Communist Youth took place in Bucharest, in October 1939, in a secret house in the Gherghin Highway, and lasted a few days. The Report on the organization of the Union of Communist Youth was delivered by Nicolae Ceaușescu. Delegates of the most important centres of the country participated and the report analyzed in detail the national and international political situation. It advanced a programme of

mobilization of the working youth in factories, and apprentices' hostels and intensification of the struggle of the country's youth against fascism and war preparations. It also stressed the need for strengthening the links between the Romanian youth and those of the other existing nationalities, for raising the quality of work for the village youth and for the military.

The Conference endorsed the report and the advanced plan of action, and then elected the first Central Committee of the redeemed Union of Communist Youth. Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected secretary.

The Secret Police however learnt the news and decided to put under arrest and prosecute the person whom they considered to be a danger to the interest of the ruling classes. But the prosecuting bodies were unable to find him. Being warned, Nicolae Ceaușescu went underground.

The situation grew increasingly tough.

Of that period, the Romanian people always remember the famous "errands in the dark" of the underground activists. Errands full of danger, at a time when the regime of the royal dictatorship of Carol II, and then that of the military dictatorship of Ion Antonescu had stifled any kind of freedom and all forms of democratic manifestation. Communists, however, tried to take advantage of every opportunity in order to carry on their work.

Conducting underground activity, Nicolae Ceaușescu did not cease his revolutionary militancy; on the contrary, he dedicated himself to it even more passionately. He was tried in his absence. The Martial Court sentenced him to three years of prison and a fine of 20,000 lei converted into 200 days of prison. Ceaușescu skilfully avoided the investigators and for a long time he managed to baffle them and defeat their schemes. Changing places over and over again, he made numerous trips to Moldova—Iași; Bucovina—Cernăuți; Basarabia—Chișinău; Oltenia—Craiova, Turnu Severin; to Galați, etc., where he successfully worked for the formation and consolidation of the organizations of the Union of Communist Youth.

Yet, on one of those "errands in the dark", in August 1940 in the capital, while he was preparing a demonstration against the war, he was apprehended again, sent to jail and forced to serve the sentence issued against him in his absence.

On August 30, 1940, Hitler's Germany and fascist Italy imposed on the Romanian government the fateful Vienna Diktat, under which the northern part of Transylvania was torn away from the country and surrendered to Horthyist Hungary. The Romanian Communist Party, the revolutionary, democratic and anti-fascist movement in Romania most vigorously stood against this unjust dictate and a great wave of protests swept the country. In a document entitled "Our Standpoint",

the Communist Party addressed its members, the communist youth, workers, peasants and intellectuals, and all patriotic forces of the country with the urge to build "a united people's front of those who work for smashing the tyranny of the military-Iron Guardist dictatorship".

In the field of foreign policy, Romania steadily promoted in the inter-war period a policy of defence and consolidation of national unity and of preserving the territorial status quo. To that end, she was closely attached to the Pack of the League of Nations, promoting a friendly policy towards England and France, a policy of collaboration and defensive military alliance with the two regional security organizations, the Little Entente (along with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) and the Balkan Entente (along with Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey) and a policy of alliance with Poland.

Romania made an important contribution to the international conferences that debated issues of disarmament, of peace in Europe and the world over.

Standing in the way of the plans of expansion and invasion of the fascist states, due to the fact that she possessed a host of raw materials the Hitlerite war machine needed, and also to her key strategic position in the south-eastern part of the Continent, Romania's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity were increasingly endangered.

The British-French-Soviet negotiations failed and that brought about grave consequences for the international situation. On September 1, 1939 Hitler invaded Poland. That was the preface to the great conflagration that would result in inestimable sufferings and losses.

In the summer of 1940, when the Nazis had supremacy in a large part of Europe, Romania was forced to yield important territories. Under such difficult circumstances she was all alone, with no support from the outside, deserted by all powers of Europe and was left at the mercy of Hitler's Germany. It was in that political context that the establishment of the military-fascist dictatorship took place on the first days of September 1940 and with it started one of the most difficult stages in the contemporary history of the Romanian people. On November 23, 1940 the dictatorship of Antonescu and the Iron Guard adhered to the Tripartite Pact, a political-military alliance concluded on September 27, 1940 in Berlin, between Germany, Italy and Japan. Against the Romanian people's will, Romania was forced into Hitler's anti-Soviet war on June 22, 1941. On December 1941 she was at war with Great Britain and on June 5, 1942 she was at war also with the United States.

If the horrors of fascism were not fully apparent in Romania and there were no concentration camps, this was because fascism proved to be alien to the Romanian people's spirit. It was resisted by a host of national socio-political forces and by the Communist Party first of all,

who did not give way to atrocities like those witnessed in other countries.

The Romanian people never agreed to the country's political, military and economic subordination to the German imperialists, to the rule of the military fascist dictatorship, to the Hitlerite war. The resistance movement that began right after the establishment of the military-fascist regime, gradually encompassed the most varied social strata and categories, and was permanently growing.

Imprisoned at Jilava, in Bucharest, Nicolae Ceaușescu proved once more his great moral strength, showing—as revealed in the alarming reports of the Secret Police—that he knew how to apply "everything he has learnt at Doftana". Despite the terror there too, he managed to win over the detainees who were not Party members, but who had been imprisoned for democratic activities. Likewise, he took care, with fraternal affection and understanding, of the military brought to "the garrison of death", because they had disobeyed conscription orders. He used to talk for hours to the guard soldiers and to explain to them the significance of the Vienna Diktat, inculcating in them the feeling of national dignity and inducing them to act solidly with those who remained at home, subjected to deprivations and misery. At the same time, although bound by the confines of the prison, Nicolae Ceaușescu kept in touch with the Communist Party's activists who were outside.

The autumn of 1940 was marked in Romania by a savage terror unleashed by the Iron Guard when numerous communist front rankers were killed; a great scientist was killed: Nicolae Iorga; a famous economist, Virgil Madgearu, was also killed and many more were savagely assassinated. During the night of November 26-27, 1940, a "commando" of Iron Guard killers in green shirts broke into the Jilava jail, carrying guns, knives and iron bars. They rushed to the side of the prison where the political detainees used to be kept. In the first cells, there were former dignitaries of the governments of royal dictatorship, politicians with anti-Hitler views and patriots who, one way or another, had opposed the Iron Guard. With a bestiality befitting only the behaviour of their Gestapo mentors, the Iron Guards fired their pistols, stabbed with knives and hit with the iron bars, killing 65 political detainees.

From cell 20 onwards there were several communists, among them Nicolae Ceaușescu and the killers started to force their way into those cells as well. Fortunately the guards managed to push them back, and the communists in the Jilava jail were saved.

That night of blood and terror was the confirmation of and a tribute to the persuasion and perseverance of Nicolae Ceaușescu and the other communists in their talks with the military guards.

In its resolution on the anti-Soviet war, of July 1941, in the

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Programme-platform of September 1941, in the document entitled "The Romanian People's Death or Salvation" of January 1942, and in other documents, the Communist Party addressed the Romanian people with the urge to resist the Hitlerite war, to induce disengagement from the war against Great Britain and the U.S. to impose the overthrow of Ion Antonescu's fascist regime, the dispersal of the Hitlerites from the country, the acquisition of Romania's freedom and independence and the participation in the anti-fascist war with all forces.

Establishing as the main task "the fight for the building of the Joint National Front of the Romanian people against German fascism and its clique of traitors in the country", the Programme-platform of September 6, 1941, entitled "The Romanian people's fight for national freedom and independence" in fact stressed that the communist party's historical responsibility to the people resided in the organization of the fight for smashing German fascism and its servants in all countries, for winning back northern Transylvania and freeing Romania of the Hitlerite yoke, for the homeland's freedom, integrity and independence. That platform was the general line of the party's policy throughout the period of the Hitlerite war, and the foundation of the eventual overthrow of military-fascist dictatorship.

More and more victims of the hunt for communists organized by the Romanian Secret Police by direct collaboration with the Gestapo were brought to the military jail of Jilava: anti-fascist campaigners, democrats and people who opposed the policy of Marshal Ion Antonescu. Numerous campaigners were killed in those weeks and months. According to the odious custom of the jail of Jilava, executions, were swift, and without sentences. Among those assassinated were campaigners of the party, anti-fascist fighters and youths who had opposed the Iron Guardist dictatorship, who died shouting "Down with Hitler!", "Down with the war!", "Death to the Fascists!".

Nicolae Ceaușescu was transferred from Jilava to the jail of Caransebeș, in Banat, on April 7, 1942, after repeated "démarches" of the jail administration, who were interested in sending the "dangerous detainees" away from Bucharest. In the new, equally tough, jail, he was preceded by a "heavy" record but, as the administrators of the jail were soon to learn, his was a will impossible to bend or intimidate. Working in workshops, the communists had connections with other inmates and thus managed to disseminate anti-fascist ideas. Several hundreds of people were divided in smaller groups led by members of the party cell by experienced cadres. The leadership of such a group was entrusted to Ceaușescu.

On August 1, 1943, as he had served his sentence, Nicolae Ceaușescu was to be set free. However, with no legal justification, with no further

trial, he was sent to another jail—the political detainees' camp of Țirgu Jiu, a place where they kept communists, anti-fascists and all those who protested against the anti-Soviet war.

Nicolae Ceaușescu distinguished himself there too, in ebullient activity witnessed by the camp in the tension of those decisive months—the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944, which demonstrated to even the most narrow-minded that Hitler's days were numbered.

The United Workers' Front came into being on May 1, 1944, following the agreement between the Romanian Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party.

"The foundation of the United Workers' Front", Nicolae Ceaușescu later said "was significant for the union of all democratic forces, increasing as it did, authority of the communist party in alliance with the socialist party and the authority of the working class. The party was thus able to collaborate with the other patriotic forces, including the army and the Court, in attaining the targets of national importance. At the same time, the coming into being of the United Workers' Front was a brilliant confirmation of the virtues of our party's tactics and strategy, of the creative way in which it applied to our country's specific conditions Marxist-Leninist teaching about the working class's role and the need for its unity of action".

The party organization of the Țirgu Jiu Camp commissioned Nicolae Ceaușescu with handling the links between the youth formations carrying on activity in the country though the possibilities of action in the camp were obviously limited because of the severe control. He requested to be sent to work outside, in various work teams in the Jiu Valley, where he proved to be an accomplished electrical fitter, a skill he had acquired in jail, and was appointed chief of a team in high demand due to their ability. He worked sometimes for twenty hours on end, in most difficult conditions, conveying directives of the party, interviewing numerous cadres who were "outside", and participating in the preparations for the foundation of the United Workers' Front.

His eventual freedom was to coincide with the country's liberation from the fascists, on August 23, 1944.

The building of the United Workers' Front, the Democratic Front and, at the same time, the establishment of links with officers on the Supreme Command, with the King, with the army and other national forces, provided conditions for the beginning of the armed insurrection, the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the withdrawal from the war fought on the side of Hitler's Germany. It also marked the beginning of the triumph of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist revolution of social and national liberation.

A new government was established, in which, for the first time in the

country's history, the Romanian Communist Party was represented. That very night, the Bucharest forces of insurrection took over the guard of the Romanian government and the General Staff issued the directive establishing the missions of combat of the Romanian army.

The victory of the insurrection and the turning of the Romanian army's weapons against Hitler's Germany were appreciated internationally as fateful actions for the course of the war. On September 12, Romania signed, in Moscow, a truce with the United Nations' Governments and the Romanian army committed itself to the fight for the complete liberation of the country's territory from foreign occupation, for invalidating the loathful Vienna Diktat and for Hungary's and Czechoslovakia's liberation, up to the final defeat of Germany. In those battles the Romanian army lost some 167,600 men (dead, wounded and missing), i.e. over 30 per cent of the total effectives engaged in fighting, but besides this the Romanian people made an important economic contribution to the victory, estimated at over one billion dollars (1938 rate of exchange), which meant a fourfold Romania's budget for the 1937/1938 fiscal year.

After the triumph of insurrection, in whose preparation he had participated by long and tough revolutionary struggle, by sacrifices made in the finest years of his youth, a new chapter started in Nicolae Ceaușescu's life, in his eventful biography that followed step by step the biography of the people, the new history of Romania.

The Responsibilities Ahead

The atmosphere in Bucharest during those last days of August 1944 can hardly be forgotten: the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist armed national insurrection was one of the greatest events in Romanian history. It was a victory born of the people's will, of the struggle of its forces and of the Romanian Communist Party. It was a victory that meant a new situation for the party and a victory that would radically change the country's life.

In that ebullience of patriotic, revolutionary forces, one could see the figure of communist campaigner Nicolae Ceaușescu, bearing the traces of the years of hardship but also of new, profound preoccupations. From camp, he went to join the front ranks of the struggle waged by the party in the new conditions, dedicating himself to the fulfilment of the missions history itself imposed. The song which the former detainees used to hum:

"We're leaving the jail
Ready to fight again . . ."

aptly expressed Ceaușescu's determination. He was barely 27 and had put behind him almost 12 years of struggle as a tested revolutionist and no less than 9 years of imprisonment. At the popular manifestations,

organised late in August, 1944, upon instructions from the Communist Party, Nicolae Ceaușescu took the floor, thanking and praising the Romanian and Soviet combatants who had contributed to the country's liberation.

The press of the time also record the presence at the rostrum of the young communist called Elena Petrescu (Ceaușescu) among the speakers who praised the merits of the campaigners for Romania's freedom.

The number of party members and of UCY members was permanently rising. On September 10, 1944, the courtyard and the streets around the headquarters of the "Patriotic Defence" were crowded with people embracing one another, happy to be together again, men and women with faces and bodies marked by years of deportation and ex-political detainees set free under the decree of amnesty signed by Lucrețiu Patrașcanu, the first communist dignitary, of a Romanian government. From the improvised rostrum, Nicolae Ceaușescu addressed them on that day saying: "On behalf of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, I wholeheartedly greet you who have known how to stand to the death for a free and democratic Romania . . . You have been at the head of the struggle of young people in Romania, you have been at the head of the Romanian people's struggle . . . You have been thrown into jails and camps, in order to be destroyed. But there too, you knew how to do your duty . . . Our organization, the organization of communist youth is grateful to you and to all patriots".

The youth contribution to the major social transformations led by the party in the new circumstances was eagerly awaited, its political orientation being considered as fundamental to the cause of the revolution.

The highlight of the day was the victory on the anti-fascist front. "Today, we, the country's youth, are bound to place our whole energy in the service of the fight for the final disintegration of the Hitlerite beast, for freeing Transylvania of the Horthy's gangs", Nicolae Ceaușescu proclaimed at another meeting.

The Communist Party established and suggested the reorganization of the patriotic youth movement and the activity of the Union of Communist Youth; to that end, Nicolae Ceaușescu was entrusted with the office of General Secretary of the Union.

He resumed an activity in which he had proved skill, initiative and a sense of organization and into which he had put, especially whilst in jail, tremendous energy. That activity posed new and difficult problems in conditions of legality, requesting attentive reconsideration of the methods. As documents show, the UCY General Secretary would prove

4. Noble Conduct

Nicolae Ceaușescu is grasping the meaning of the events and the role and a noble role in harmony with the realities of the day.

Ceaușescu added to the work of the Romanian Communist Party's youth. He devoted his attention to organizing and mobilizing young students and workers to participate in the anti-fascist war, and to make use of their volunteers for the front. Daily he would visit military units and those leaving for the front as well as apprentices and young workers in the factories preparing for the front. He inspired in them the will to work and fight the appeal launched by the Romanian Communist Party. Everything for the front, everything for victory! These were hard years in which the hostile manifestations of the reactionary forces, including some government forces, added to the material hardships the working people had to cope with. Nicolae Ceaușescu's participation in the work of organization and in the mass demonstrations never ceased and had very good results. That period also marked the beginning of his activity as a publicist, which, in time, would result in an impressive oeuvre of political thoughts and opinions. "The Youth Fight in the Past and Their Duty in the Future" was the title of the editorial written by him for the New Year's Eve issue of 1945 of the daily "Scinteia tineretului".

The first struggle of the country's progressive forces prepared the victory of March 6, 1945. It was the moment of the coming to power of the government of Doctor Petru Groza, the first democratic, revolutionary government in the country's history. From then on, the representatives of the working class and the democratic and progressive forces had the majority in running the state's affairs and they thus decisively directed the great political, economic and social events in the sphere of Romania's vital interests.

Nicolae Ceaușescu was entrusted by the party, as the press shows, with the main actions of the Union of Communist Youth in that period. He was a steady campaigner for the education of the youth masses in the spirit of the communist party's revolutionary traditions.

Leading the Activity for the Country's Economic and Social Development

The first National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party of October 16-21, 1945 established the concrete, immediate and future necessities for the road to economic reconstruction and democratic development of the country. Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected member of the Party's Central Committee.

The years 1946-1947 were most difficult. Two consecutive years of drought had considerably worsened Romania's economic situation. Starvation was a menace to tens upon tens of thousands of families.

Upon instruction from the Central Committee, Nicolae Ceaușescu was sent to work as secretary of the county party committees of Dobrogea and Oltenia, two poor agricultural regions and, among the least developed in the country.

The hardships were special, difficult to understand, and to solve. Approaching the situation with practical sense, energy and calm, acting on a direct knowledge of the situation and aspirations of the peasantry, he managed to grasp the core of the fundamental problems.

The party cadres were only a few, they originated in differing milieus and some had insufficient political training. Those who worked on this side at that time remember that he used to stay late into the night in towns and villages, talking to people, to the secretaries and members of the bureaux of the party committees in communes and enterprises.

During the election campaign in 1946, the reactionary forces in Oltenia tried to turn the people away from the communist party. The propaganda hostile to renewals found congenial ground in the rural milieu, where a sense of property was powerfully manifest. "What do the peasants know about agricultural co-operatives?" used to wonder Nicolae Ceaușescu. "They know our enemies' lies. Let us make them know the truth, let us explain to them patiently what these collective forms of work are and then they will not be frightened any more! Why should we tell them that we will not organize socialist farms when without them, we will not be able to help them out of their poverty?" He urged the activists to overtly talk to people, and not skip delicate issues. He also urged them to clearly tell the village people how important it was at that time to fully win political power and take over economic power.

In November 1946, after a keenly disputed election campaign, in which Nicolae Ceaușescu was active in Oltenia, elections were held for the Assembly of Deputies. The Bloc of Democratic Parties won a landslide victory under an emblem of the Sun—more than threequarters of the ballots. And here is the expression of the confidence he enjoyed with the citizens who had known him to be fighting for their rights: Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected deputy to the Grand National Assembly a seat he would keep throughout the subsequent legislatures.

He was 29 and still the most important tasks were kept in store for him. At the June 1947 session of the Grand National Assembly, which statuted by law the land reform as "an act of government", he delivered a Report on the bill for settling the legal regime of agricultural structures; on December 30, 1947, when they held the historic session of the Grand National Assembly that would proclaim the Romanian People's Republic, he was engrossed in contributing to what he himself would call "the ushering in" of a new, qualitatively higher stage in Romanian society—the stage of socialist revolution. In

1948 he prepared the Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party; the same year, he was entrusted, on a state line, the office of secretary-general of the Ministry of Agriculture.

In 1948 he actively participated in the preparations for the congress of the merger of the Romanian Communist Party with the Social-Democratic Party. The single party of the working class would be called for a while the Romanian Worker's Party and the Congress elected Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej as First Secretary. From that date on, the newly-founded party would take over the mobilization and rallying of the revolutionary, democratic forces in the building of the technico-material base of socialism.

Starting from Romania's realities the Party focussed its policy on industrialization as a basis for the progress of economy and culture, raising living standards, society's multilateral development, and ensuring national independence and sovereignty. The Romanian people's efforts for the socialist industrialization materialized in outstanding achievements: the share of industry in the national income was in 1965 48.9 per cent compared with 30.8 per cent in 1938.

At the same time, a central objective of the party's policy was to provide new bases for agriculture. The agricultural cooperative that started in 1949, meant a deep-going revolution in the life of the village. Thanks to the RCP agrarian policy, the reorganization of production and of the social relations in villages was matched by the continuous increase in farm production.

The intimate knowledge of the country's realities, organizational and practical ability, together with his political and ideological views and training, recommended Ceaușescu as a welcome and efficient presence in the activity for the socialist reorganization of agriculture—one of the most difficult tasks of the revolution—and of building of the new system in Romania. In that field, which implied numerous organizational tasks, he set an example of assiduous work, making others endorse a new style based on watch words that would always characterize him: "on the spot", "in touch with the people".

He would talk at length with villagers, he would visit state farm enterprises. He wanted to know the real state of affairs, people's real state of mind, so that when he had left, he could take appropriate action for the reorganization of agriculture, and the resulting prosperity of the village.

There followed years of intense endeavours, when party activists had to solve so many new and complicated questions. Ceaușescu had fully proved his skills, his capability of grasping the heart of the matter. As recorded by those who worked with him at that time, most of the ideas he introduced into the general working style, now used in Romania, had sprung from his own experiences and were confirmed in

practice. One of these ideas, considered by Ceaușescu to be essential for the good work of a political activist, was the rotation of cadres, in time, in various jobs, in various sectors of major importance for society.

This was much more than a principle in Nicolae Ceaușescu's life. He had taken part in the fight to overthrow the old regime, and after the country's liberation from fascism, in the backing of the front, in the organization of the youth forces, in the nationalization of the main productive means and in the removal of the monarchy. He had taken effective action in carrying through the agrarian policy and had the experience of party work in two counties and of the management of an economic ministry. Then, in 1950, he became head of the Higher Political Department of the Army, as deputy Minister of the National Defence.

When he came to the head of the Higher Political Department of the Army,—it was only five years after the return of the Romanian military from the Tatra Mountains and from Budapest, where they had covered themselves with glory—the situation in the army was particularly complex. On the one hand, there were the officers dedicated to the fight against fascism, but who were educated in the spirit of the bourgeois army, and on the other, there were the young cadres formed during the anti-Hitlerite war, who were politically progressive, but had insufficient professional training.

Having the qualities of great patience and insight, Nicolae Ceaușescu supervised the political education of officers and soldiers, in his capacity as an executive of the ministry and saw to it that dedication to the homeland was instilled into them.

He organized development courses for the experienced military, sent young cadres to be trained abroad, and did everything for the promotion of potential, verified at work, of the working class and the peasantry in the military hierarchy.

He was not satisfied with making recommendations. He was always on the spot, inspecting the remotest corners of the country, so as to make sure that the measures meant to considerably change the Romanian army were translated into life. He worked tirelessly and even attended courses of the Military Academy, becoming Lieutenant General.

In May 1952, Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected into the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party. He continued working in the army until April 1954, when he was elected secretary of the Central Committee of the communist party, in charge of organizational work.

That task, of particular responsibility, marked a new period in his activity, at head of the party's highest echelon. In the ensuing twelve years or so, when he was uninterruptedly secretary of the Central

Committed. Nicolae Ceaușescu proved his remarkable aptitudes present in the party organizations and working for the improvement of their services and results. Nicolae Ceaușescu was one of those who pursued the policy of industrialization carried through the plans for the country's socioeconomic development and took measures for the improvement of people's life and work conditions.

These were important years in Romania's history. The nationalization of the subsoil riches and of the main means of production took place in 1948. This opened the way to the planning of the economy. A first ten-year plan was inaugurated for the country's electrification; the first five-year plan of socio-economic development started in 1951. Its conclusion coincided with the first signs of economic rehabilitation: the volume of industrial production in 1955 was almost three times bigger than in 1948 and more than nine times that of 1948. A host of new branches started up: production, oil-field, mining and power engineering equipment, the building of lorries, tractors and farm machinery and attempts were made at distributing the new industrial units all over the territory.

The transformation of agriculture continued, with private property yielding to the cooperative associations. The agricultural cooperative measures which would be complete in 1962, were thus referred to by Ceaușescu. The passage from small-scale peasant production with its limited possibilities to large-scale socialist production meant a profound revolution to the life of the village, and in agricultural production generally, providing favourable conditions for the fast progress of this essential branch of the national economy.

This period of Romania's history is talked about quite a lot and is mirrored in numerous novels and explained in documents and books of history. These are years when the Romanians had to cope with so many economic and social difficulties, years in which the lack of experience, of training and a simplistic outlook on socialism took their toll and had their revenge on the progress of economic and social construction. These were years in which, although the Romanians are not emphatic about it, they had to cope with foreign influences on their own policies. An attempt to extend the situation existing at the time of the Comintern is an example. The history of the communist party in Romania recorded moments when attempts were made to impose on it theories and attitudes brought from elsewhere, methods of work that did not fit in the conditions in the country. This time, when the party was ruling, it had to be persuaded to "learn" in schools made by others to adopt solutions that would not be viable in practice and to follow a foreign policy dictated from outside.

This period also witnessed errors that have been publicly and repeatedly recognized. The errors refer especially to the incipient period of socialist construction, the attitude vis-a-vis some social

categories, peasantry in particular. Errors in establishing the rate of industrialization, in turning to use the farm potential, are blamed on that period for example. Illegals and abuses were perpetrated with respect to various communist leaders. The best known case seems to be that of Lucrentiu Patrascanu, the man who, after having represented his party in the government after August 23, 1944, being the first Romanian communist ever to participate in a government, vanished without a trial, without even knowing why. "What must be stressed" says Ceaușescu, "is the fact that the people and the party have always found the necessary resources to mend errors and overcome difficulties. The salient characteristic line of the epoch of socialist construction in Romania is the permanent development, the march forward in all fields, the continuous improvement of activity in all domains."

What was Nicolae Ceaușescu actually doing during this period? He was present among the working people, in factories, on building-sites, among cooperative peasants, among scientists and men of culture. He took part directly in the party activity in enterprises and institutions, where there were many tasks to be discharged, numerous questions to be solved, and shortcomings to overcome. Listening to people's opinions, caring for their needs and grievances, he knew how to encourage and comfort them, he contributed to the organization of their efforts for eradicating the economic backwardness inherited from the past, for making progress in the country's multilateral development.

As he was in charge of the party's organizational sector, it became a principle with him to look for, discover and promote new cadres, to get acquainted with people in their jobs. He entrusted responsible functions to young people, being concerned with achieving the best possible combination of the experience of old people and the dynamism of younger generations, integrated into the social life after the war. He instilled confidence and abnegation, for the good of the country into their minds. It is today well-known that Nicolae Ceaușescu made his contribution to the moulding of thousands upon thousands of skillful activists, many of whom became basic cadres of Romania's political, economic, scientific and cultural life.

At the seventh Party Congress, held in 1955, Nicolae Ceaușescu read the report on the new Rules. One of the most important ideas expounded then was the necessity of the introduction of collective work as a fundamental, compulsory principle at all managerial levels. "Collective work", he pointed out "prevents us from making unilateral, wrong decisions and enables us to make the most adequate decisions. . . . Collective management presupposes an efficient running of affairs and implies personal responsibility in the discharge of the entrusted missions". The report laid particular stress on the strengthening of discipline, as a prerequisite for the unity of will and

action of the whole party. It was also mentioned that there was only one party discipline, compulsory to the same extent for all party members, irrespective of their functions and merits. Such specifications were of a noteworthy ideological and political clearheadedness, at a time when certain dogmatic influences had been exerted over Romania and over the activity of the Romanian Communist Party.

His merits—both theoretically and practically, were recognized as such: the seventh Party Congress elected him member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee. He was still in charge of the organizational work and training of cadres and at the same time he was to keep in touch with the youth, trade unions and women organizations.

He was 37 and was the youngest member of the highest party forum.

In that capacity, he took an active part in the party's managerial activity, and was present at the solving of the most important questions raised by the complex work for Romania's socioeconomic development.

Any leader can be defined by how he works, by how he introduces into the party's activity a climate of constructive criticism and self-criticism, of particular exigency, of intolerance to shortcomings, how he promotes really valuable men, and offers open, sincere debates of drawbacks. These were the methods Nicolae Ceaușescu applied—and applies now—for the involvement of party organizations in the implementation of the programmes of progress and civilization in Romania. For example, during the agricultural co-operative measures, he asked the communists and their party organizations in the villages to strictly use only political methods of convincing the peasantry, firmly forbidding administrative methods of forcing the peasantry's will.

He very carefully discharged his party duties related to the guidance of the Union of the Communist Youth. He knew and followed closely the activity of the youth organization and took part directly in the debates of its major questions, watching how the basic cadres of the organization worked, thought and developed.

We can understand the dimension of the effort he had to make, in his activity in enterprises, villages, scientific and cultural institutions and mass and public organizations, particularly as he was a leading party cadre. Ceaușescu found time to thoroughly study the theory of dialectical and historical materialism, the principles of political economics, of law and management, while keeping abreast of world thinking and of the experience of other nations and peoples.

At a time when certain people still believed—and even said it openly—that it was enough to have a revolutionary attitude to side with the working class, in order to "make do" as a party activist, Nicolae

Ceaușescu took all opportunities to emphasize that the resolution of the highly complex questions of the socialist construction required a party and state activist to have knowledge of economics, culture, politics, science and technology. In fact, his entire life work shows such an orientation.

In spite of the important party tasks entrusted to him, Nicolae Ceaușescu attended courses at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy of social and political sciences and he graduated from the Institute of Economic Sciences. His graduation paper: "Certain questions concerning the development of Romania's industry in the nineteenth century" pointed to the traditions of economic development in Romania and to the specific conditions of the Romanian industry's formation. It was a study of special importance for the policy of socialist industrialization. Synthesizing the experience of the economic development in Romania, he drew new conclusions which rejected, among other things, the non-scientific theses—which circulated in the period when the paper was written—on the realities of the Romanian economy, theses which gave a false image about skills of the Romanian people. Providing scientific arguments, the paper showed how powerful the Romanian workers' talents were even under the hard conditions of the autochthonous exploitation and foreign domination and outlined, on the basis of these conclusions, the prospects for the development of a modern industrial economy in Romania, under the new social conditions. Ceaușescu's graduation paper made the most of his particular interest in the studies on the capitalization of his country's natural riches. He had thoroughly read among others the works by such scholars as Grigore Cobălcescu or Gheorghe Munteanu-Murgoci on oil deposits, by Petru Poni and Conatantin Istrate on the capitalization of certain natural resources, by Grigore Antipa on the Danube Delta. To the same extent, Nicolae Ceaușescu frequently resorted to the works of great men of culture and social action such as Nicolae Balcescu, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Alaxandru Ioan Cuza or to the works of such writers as Vasile Alecsandri, Dimitrie Bolintineanu and Mihail Eminescu.

He was in charge of the organizational questions, but also discharged numerous tasks concerning the relations of the party with the other communist and worker parties. In 1957 he was member of the delegation attending the Moscow International Conference of communist and worker parties. In the same period, he visited the Soviet Union several times and was a member of the delegation who visited the People's Republic of China. He visited the German Democratic Republic, he attended the Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, the proceedings of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as

other important international meetings, where he presented the Romanian Communist Party's position.

Together with the other members of the party leadership, Nicolae Ceaușescu made an essential contribution to the elaboration of the well-known document on the basic principles of Romania's foreign policy in 1964. Here he will was resolutely asserted to ensure the country's free and independent development, to promote the parties and countries, the principles which should guarantee each people's right to develop freely, without any outside interference, in conditions of full equality and in a climate of mutual respect.

By the age of 47, Nicolae Ceaușescu had the prestige of an outstanding personality of the Romanian party and people, with special political and organizational aptitudes, and considerable training and experience.

Of peasant descent, moulded by work in a factory and by the hardships of underground existence, a member of the communist party for over three decades, knowing most of the country's localities, practically known by all its inhabitants, irrespective of nationality, successful in all the examinations of the post-war period, having a thorough knowledge and rich experience in international relations, he had the qualities of a great politician. He was, through his work and capabilities a man of the future.

As Head of the Party and Head of State

The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party elected Nicolae Ceaușescu first secretary of the Central Committee, the highest office in the party leadership, in March 1965, by unanimous vote. It was a short time after Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's death, who had held this office until then. This decision was the outcome of the particular appreciation of the Central Committee, the whole party and all the people for Nicolae Ceaușescu's rich experience and the high aptitudes which he had demonstrated since he had joined the party at 15 years old.

A little after that, a new Congress took place. It was the Congress that returned to the party its earlier name—the Romanian Communist Party—and decided to change the number of the congresses, starting with that of 1921. It was the Ninth Congress which unanimously elected Nicolae Ceaușescu General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. It summed up the successes scored by Romania in the period since the country's liberation. It noted that the unitary socialist economy was a fact in Romania, that socialism embraced all sectors of activity, that the

exploiting classes were liquidated for ever and man's exploitation by man abolished.

In the report that he read at the Congress, Ceaușescu drew conclusions, outlined new objectives and tasks in all the party and state fields of activity, with a view to speeding up the transformation of the whole society. Certain lags in economic development, the underestimation of certain key industrial branches and of certain sectors of the socio-economic life were criticised. He substantiated the need to speed up the growth and the modernization of the productive forces, to ground the entire economic activity on new bases of efficiency and profitability, which he considered to be decisive conditions for the country's general progress for raising of the standard of living, and for strengthening Romania's national independence and sovereignty.

We have to go back then, to the time of the ninth Congress, in order to understand the novelties which were to come about in the democratic governing of society, the development of democracy, the working people's active participation in public debate of the cardinal questions, the socialist construction, the improvement of the state, and the functions it holds in the new conditions. The ninth Congress also laid special stress on the role of science, education and culture—underestimated greatly in the past—as basic factors of making progress and raising the standard of civilization. The Congress stimulated social thinking and the development of theoretical and ideological activity in connection with the changes occurring in Romania and throughout the world. Likewise, in the report he read, Ceaușescu emphasized the fundamental orientations of the state and party foreign policy, characterized by: "a broad international opening, an intensification of Romania's relations with the socialist countries, with the developing countries and with all the states of the world, regardless of their social system".

Through the documents adopted on the basis of the report read by Nicolae Ceaușescu, the ninth Congress marked an outstanding moment in the increase of the leading role the Romanian Communist Party played in society, in the elaboration of the country's domestic and foreign policy, for the rallying of the whole nation's efforts in the socialist construction.

On August 21–22, 1965, the Grand National Assembly endorsed the new Constitution. Worked out and conceived under Nicolae Ceaușescu's direct supervision and with his participation, the Constitution sanctioned the transformations which occurred in the life of the Romanian people, the rights and freedoms acquired by all the working people, irrespective of nationality, and opened new prospects for Romania's advance on the road of progress. Expressing the new

realities of the Romanian society, the August 1965 session of the Grand National Assembly adopted the decision, upon Nicolae Ceaușescu's proposal, to name the country the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On December 6-8, 1967, a National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party took place. In the exposition he delivered at the Conference, Nicolae Ceaușescu further expounded his ideas about the organization and management of socio-economic life for the country's faster progress. The envisaged steps included both the economic domain and the domain of the relations of production and social relations, the promotion of collective work and management in all the domains of economic and social life, the country's administrative-territorial reorganization, improvement of the planning activity, the rapprochement between central management and the basic units and the enhancement of the role and prerogatives of local bodies, of counties, towns and communes in the carrying out of the party's and state's general policy. On the basis of these orientations, subsequent activity was carried out for the improvement of the economic mechanism, the consolidation of socialist democracy, the grounding of the activity of all societal bodies on new bases, for the creative application of the objective laws and the conscious participation of everyone in the socialist construction.

On December 9, 1967, the Grand National Assembly elected Nicolae Ceaușescu president of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

One year later, on November 19, 1968, Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected chairman of the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front, a new political body, with a representative character, made up of the main mass, public and professional organizations under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party and which mirrored the people's moral and political unity in the fulfilment of the socialist and communist ideals.

On March 14, 1969, the Grand National Assembly session unanimously adopted the decision that Nicolae Ceaușescu should be chairman of the Defence Council—a newly set up body—and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

The tenth party Congress, in August 1969, elected Nicolae Ceaușescu general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and the next congresses were to re-elect him to that office. It is as general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party that he leads the party and state activity to date, and takes part in everything that is linked with the present and future of the Romanian people, of socialist Romania.

Chapter 2 Scientific, Theoretical and Practical Activity

"The Ceaușescu Era" — the Years of the Highest Socio-economic Development in Romania

"Romania has made progress of historical significance. On the whole, Romanian industrial production is today 50 times ~~or~~ greater than before the war. We have developed new, industrial branches—and I can say that Romanian industry can be compared today with that in many developed countries. We have powerfully developed science and education—key factors in the entire social and economic development—and a modern technological industry. Formerly, we turned out 300,000 tons of steel or so; today we turn out over 13 million tons. We used to produce 1.5 billion kwh of electrical energy; this year we produced more than 70 billion kwh. Practically speaking, Romanian industry is today equipped for the most complex technical work, including the manufacture of nuclear power equipment and agricultural output is more than three and a half times greater than in the past. Of course, we do not consider that we have done everything, neither in industry nor in agriculture, and we are making efforts for further development in both sectors.

The national income has risen about 15 times and, on this basis, the standard of living has gone up and the income of working people in all sectors is now almost eight times what it was in 1950."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

Nicolae Ceaușescu has put a direct, methodical supervision of the fulfilment of economic objectives into practice; his numerous trips to all parts of the homeland, his presence at building-sites, in factories, in the fields, seeing the implementation of earlier policy decisions for himself, his frequent attention to analysing key branches of the national economy with executives, his participation in the experimentation of new methods and solutions and the examination of results through practical demonstrations—are all testimonies of the extent of his involvement in everything essential done in Romania on the road of socio-economic construction.

"The president's study is the whole country", is an often-used expression which finds its full justification in Nicolae Ceaușescu's work style.

Under the direct guidance of Nicolae Ceaușescu a nation-wide plan was carried out for the investigation and capitalization of the resources of raw and subsidiary materials, development of scientific research and immediate production of the elaborated solutions. Also on a nation-wide-scale, was a campaign for better knowledge of the productive units and means the Romanian economy has at its disposal, the conclusion reached was that Romania's productive potential could be better taken advantage of. Investment was also studied, for the better utilization of funds and the faster commissioning of productive units under construction.

Working meetings are frequently organized at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the party, and in the counties with experts and workers from different fields who discuss socio-economic development and bring to the fore important possibilities for increases in production.

The results of this broad collaboration with all the categories of working people are to be found in the successes registered by Romania in all fields of activity, in the development of industry, agriculture, science and culture, over the 16 years since Nicolae Ceaușescu has been at the head of the Romanian party and state.

Let us have a look in more detail at some statistical data to fully appreciate the real significance of the Ceaușescu era in the history of the Romanian people.

Compared with 1950, when the first five-year plan began, in 1965—the year when Nicolae Ceaușescu became the leader of the party—industry rose 6.5 times; by 1980 it had risen 33 times.

Between 1965 and 1980, about 7,000 new major production units were commissioned.

While in 1965 agriculture had increased 1.9 times since 1950, by 1980 it has risen 3.5 times.

The national income was also 15 times greater in 1980 than in 1950, thus ensuring a significant improvement in material and spiritual conditions.

Average pay went up from 337 lei a month in 1950 to 1,028 lei in 1965 and to 2,238 lei in 1980. Between 1965 and 1980 more than 3.1 million new jobs were created, representing more than 42 per cent of the total jobs existing today.

The rise in standards of living is also directly reflected in the increase of the consumption of farm produce and industrial products per capita. With meat, for instance, the increase goes from 16.7 kg. in 1950, to 26.6 kg. in 1965 and to 62 kg. in 1980. With eggs, 4.5 times, with sugar 4.1 times, with footwear 5.7 times compared with 1950. An outstanding achievement of the Ceaușescu years is, undoubtedly, the stability of prices, concomitant with an increase in the volume of goods selling and

the volume of foreign trade, which witnessed an annual average growth of 15 per cent.

The construction of housing is of course part of the activity of improving the conditions of life and between 1950 and 1965, 370,000 flats were built with state funds, rising to more than 1,600,000 flats between 1966 and 1980. It is also worth mentioning that the ratio between the maximum and minimum wage diminished: from about 23 times in 1950 to 5.5 times in 1975; in this way, one of the main principles of socialist ethics and equity, considered by Romania's leader as an ideal, was confirmed in practice and he pursued most firmly its application in all fields of economic and social activity.

The peasants' wages, in particular, increased considerably. Compared with 1950, the total monthly incomes of a person working in agriculture had augmented in 1980 by 130 per cent.

As well as the rise of the incomes derived from work, the state contribution to the social consumption funds increased to 12,000 lei in 1980, that is a 137 per cent or so increase or so as to 1975.

Nicolae Ceaușescu often points out that the results achieved under socialism are the outcome of the dedication of the peasantry, the intelligentsia—all working people, irrespective of nationality—and to their tireless and united efforts under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, ensuring the fulfilment of the Programme of building a multilaterally-developed socialist society and of Romania's advance towards communism.

Mr Ceaușescu often refers to his country's foreign trade activity and has been even more insistent of late. He has severely criticized the responsible factors in this sector of the Romanian economy, insisting on the need for improvement and stressing the need to develop trade relations with all states of the world, irrespective of their social systems. On his initiative, his country pursues a substantive increase in exports, payable in convertible currency, with a view to ensuring an equilibrium of the balance of payments. "By 1983", he said, "we intend to have diminished our foreign debt by some 20 per cent, which will ensure an equilibrium and the possibility of completely clearing our debt within a few years."

One can trace here, indirectly, an answer to the speculations made in certain press quarters about Romania's foreign debt. It is not Romania that invented the practice of loans. It is a means of making up for the expenditure imposed at a certain moment by economic development and a feature of international collaboration employed even by countries with recognized economic might. It is known that the level of foreign debts for some countries in the communist bloc stands above what statistics show in Romania's case. By mid 1981, Hungary's debt amounted to 6.5 billion dollars, that of eastern Germany 8.75 billion

dollars and Yugoslavia 14.6 billion dollars. Latin America's foreign debt stands at 300 billion dollars and the French Minister of Economy admitted that on June 30, 1982 France's foreign debt amounted to 35 billion dollars.

With this in mind, we can emphasize that the Romanian government's preoccupation is not to allow a further increase in loans, but to pay them off, which is a very important element of real economic independence.

The Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society

"If we had said that the objective in the future is merely the development of socialism, we would not have given a clear orientation to the party and state activity; it could have been understood that the achievement of powerful economic development in the country is sufficient, which I do not think fully accords with the fundamental objective. We want to ensure a multilateral development of society, the thriving of all sides of social life, economy, science and culture, the improvement of management, the moulding of the new man and the promotion of socialist ethics and equity."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

Analysing the developmental stage of Romanian society and the prerequisites of its further progress, Nicolae Ceaușescu outlined, in the Report read at the tenth Congress of the R.C.P., the fundamental objective of the Romanian party and people, namely the passage to the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society. The Report defined, for the first time, the character of this stage and the content of the new strategic objective; the guiding lines of the entire political, economic and social activities were set in light of this objective.

What does the notion of multilaterally-developed socialist society mean, according to the outlook of Nicolae Ceaușescu, and of the Romanian Communist Party? How do the Romanians intend to develop their society, in the contemporary world, as a "new modern" society?

Ceaușescu started from the idea that the strategic tasks of socialist revolution and construction, specific to the stage which ended with the victory of socialism in all sectors of socio-economic life, had been accomplished. Further development of the new social and economic system now requires the drawing up of a programme which specifies the sense, content and finality of the stages to be traversed by Romania. It was not a question of semantic considerations, but of the need for clear directions of activity to be outlined and for the content of the new stage to be delimited. Concisely expressed, this strategy required an orientation toward "multilaterality", backed by substantial growth in all domains.

The orientation given by Ceaușescu must be recognized to have, within the contemporary debates of ideas, particular theoretical,

ideological, practical and political importance and is a conclusive and optimistic answer, compared with the theories according to which the world is facing a rather critical developmental phase. On the basis of the laws specific to socialist society, Ceaușescu energetically opposes those opinions that economic development presupposes, in our epoch, the sacrifice of humanism, through the transformation of man into an instrument dominated by the temptation to consume—heightened by the pursuit of maximum profits—and by militarization and arming, which leads to the widening of the gaps between countries and social classes. Ceaușescu claims, on the contrary, that, in social and historic practice, a completely new sense can be given to development. The idea of the multilaterality of development—backed by the radical structural changes which are taking place in socialist society—appears to be particularly complete, including a diversity of processes and phenomena in the social existence.

According to Ceaușescu's thinking, the content of the current stage of the revolutionary process in Romania means: the conscious, planned harmonization of all sides of socio-economic life by fixing the proportions, balance and rationality, basic directions of evolution based on scientifically determined data and criteria, starting from the dialectical relation between possibilities and available resources. The multilaterality of socialist development thus presses the possibilities of an integral capitalization of the Romanian people's power to create.

Formulating the directions of development, designating the objective included in the five-year plans, the Romanian Communist Party, pursues the following major objectives for the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania:

- the achievement of an advanced, modern, efficient economy and the proportional development of all counties and localities of the country;
- the intensification of scientific activity and a continuous rise in the level of people's culture and public instruction;
- an increase in material and spiritual welfare;
- remuneration in the spirit of socialist justice and equity;
- the improvement of social relations as a whole, the development of socialist democracy, and a frame-work for working people's participation in the governing of society, and for worker self-management;
- the enhancement of civilian rights and freedoms and the intensification and improvement of the political, ideological and educational activity of moulding the new man.

In this light, Ceaușescu very exactly analyses both the assets and drawbacks of the socio-economic activity carried out up to 1965, the year when he was elected as head of the party. Here is one of the first

conclusions: Romania should not only compare its achievements and objectives with what was before, with the pre-war level, but also with the level of the most economically, culturally and socially developed countries.

He also demonstrates the need not to mistake desires for reality. "To consider sufficient the fact that we built a unitary socialist economy, and socialist relations of production", he said, "without taking into account levels of development of the productive forces of industry, agriculture, science and culture would be an unpardonable mistake. This could determine the slowing down of the country's developmental pace, which, in his outlook, would condemn Romania, for a long time, to stagnation.

Commenting on this, a foreign journalist said that Nicolae Ceaușescu "launched what many people call today the Romanian challenge of backwardness".

We know the expression of this "challenge". We find it involved in the entire economic policy of continuous development, applied by the Romanian state as early as the ninth party Congress and stressed at the tenth, eleventh and twelfth Congresses. Such a policy ensured the carrying through of an ambitious investment programme and the development of the entire economy.

Romania inherited a state of backwardness, in every respect, and to catch up with the economically more advanced countries, in a short period, was a stringent requirement. Nicolae Ceaușescu reminds us that his country, although economic and social progress has taken place in the years of socialism, is still very much a developing one. In order to surpass this, he considered that, beginning in 1960, 3 or 4 five-year plans were necessary. As early as 1965, he stated, in fact, the option to change the ratio of distribution of the national income in the development fund and the consumption fund. It was set then, that it was necessary to augment by 24-25 per cent the accumulation fund. As compared with the 4-5 per cent development pace of the national economy until then, this ensured an annual growth rate of 10-11 per cent, ranking Romania among the countries with the fastest economic development in the world at that time. In the ensuing five-year plan periods, this rate went up to 33-34 per cent of the national income, though certain sceptical foreign observers immediately qualified that decision as non-realistic. But the evidence has refuted their prophecies and Romanian people proved by its achievements, in the years since the adoption of those guide-lines, that it was able to develop at such a pace and even to surpass it.

Nicolae Ceaușescu elaborated a new outlook regarding the country's orientation in the development of industry. A conception of modern industrialization was adopted, with an emphasis on technical progress

in the machine-building industry, electrotechnology and the chemical industry and metallurgy, which were ensured higher development rates in the plan. It was a question of basing the country's entire industrialization on the latest gains of science and technology. "We must work so as to turn our disadvantage, due to retardation in a series of domains, into advantages and to develop the economy on the basis of the highest contemporary technology", the president said.

As for the distribution of productive forces over the territory, a tendency had existed for a long time to pay heed only to several major centres. Ceaușescu was the initiator of the principle to develop all regions to the same extent, to ensure a flourishing economic and social life in all the country's localities and special attention was paid to the economically underdeveloped regions and localities. It is in this sense that, starting with the 1976-1980 five-year plan period, no county was to have an annual industrial output worth less than 10 billion lei. As regards the current five-year plan period, 1981-1985, all counties should attain a production of at least 70,000 lei per capita, and there should be a minimum of 400 employed persons per each thousand of inhabitants.

One of the questions in which the Romanian head of state is particularly interested, as shown at the recent party National Conference of 16-18 December 1982, is related to the planning and management of economic life and, especially to the raising of the entire economic activity to a higher qualitative level. Ceaușescu recognizes that economic efficiency has not always been the focal point of the economic bodies, that running and planning has been sometimes marked by subjectivism and that due attention has not always been paid to a thorough study of the requirements and possibilities of the most adequate measures to be taken for the fulfilment of the plan. Ceaușescu therefore asked that the planning and organization of economic activity should be changed radically and pointed out that efficiency should be the basic criteria for production, a law of the whole economic policy. "It is only through a maximum labour efficiency in all sectors", he highlighted "that the main desideratum can be achieved, i.e. that the advantages of socialism should be even more powerfully felt by each and every family".

Dwelling upon the idea of efficiency, Ceaușescu asks his party and all working people to fight against waste, and the mentality which generates it. He is intolerant to losses and to low quality products: "Those who cause damage in production should carry the material responsibility of their deeds, and suffer the consequences". And for those who may consider this too harsh, he replies: "I consider that for our party, a vanguard party of the whole people, caring for mankind means caring for a healthy economy. To admit serious negative states of

affairs under the pretext of caring for mankind means, ultimately, social demagoguery". As early as 1965, Nicolae Ceaușescu began to combat the theory and practice of "planned losses", which he considers to be a "true anomaly" and a "serious manifestation of economic backwardness".

"No economy can afford to run production showing a deficit, to finance certain enterprises at the detriment of others." Making all enterprises profitable is, then, one of the major economic tasks set by the Romanian president.

"Agriculture", he pointed out, "is the branch which can fully reward our efforts, if we pay due attention to it. Any neglect for agriculture, its development or its technico-material basis can put difficulties in the way of the balanced development of the entire economy and the use of the country's economic potential for the rise of the national income, and the assurance of people's material and spiritual progress.... Industrialization to the detriment of the development and modernization of agriculture leads in fact, to a neglect of the importance of the growth of farm production and to underestimating agriculture as one of the branches at the basis of the socialist relations of production.

Aware of the value of the land, he initiated a programme of control of soil erosion and degradation, intensive cultivation of each patch of land through a better division into the cultural zones and the production and use of chemical fertilizers. He energetically attacked the conception that, in agriculture, investments should be limited to state property only. "Our party carries the responsibility of the development of the entire national economy, of each sector, be it state-owned, co-operatist or private. There is no economic or social branch which should not be backed, guided and led by the socialist party and state."

The Role of the State and the Nation in the Contemporary World

"The entire history of the development of human society demonstrates that the state has always been the main means by which the ruling classes maintain and exert their power. In the socialist social system, where, for the first time power belongs to those who work, the working class—the ruling class—uses the state with a view to eradicating man's exploitation of man and to building socialism and communism".

Nicolae Ceaușescu

Nicolae Ceaușescu has proved to be an internationally well-known theorist on the role of the state and of the nation in the contemporary world. His involvement in the disputes on this theme, which imply not

only an attempt to minimize the role of the state and of the nation, but are also the outcome of certain tendencies of interference in the affairs of other countries and peoples, has two obvious sources: the scientific character of his thinking and recognized patriotism, and the objectives of progress and prosperity for the Romanian people.

His participation in the arguments on the theme of the state is a very sincere one. Answering several foreign theorists, he showed that: "The complex issue of the role and functions of the state in socialism cannot be approached scientifically without taking into account internal social conditions and contemporary international conditions. The character of the functions of the state changes with the modifications occurring in the development of society, in the oeuvre of socialist construction."

The socialist state, Ceaușescu thinks, will be an essential factor of society's progress for a long time. He upholds that the socialist system qualitatively changes the nature and content of the state; at the same time, at a certain stage of development, the state will disappear, according to the marxist principles on its historically determined character. He thus firmly opposed certain narrow interpretations which asserted that the state would be immutable, "which would be against the laws of dialectics". Other theories maintain that the process of diminishing the role of the state in society should be precipitated, but ignore the internal and international specific historical conditions. Ceaușescu stands against the interpretations that consider the role of the state to remain the same, today, in the socialist countries, as in the period of proletarian dictatorship, when the exploiting classes were overthrown.

Nicolae Ceaușescu's thinking about the state and its role thus springs from an objective analysis of realities, closely following the laws of dialectics.

As a political instrument of the power of the whole people, the state is called upon to effectuate the party's Programme of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance towards communism. In order to fulfil this strategic objective, managerial bodies and instruments were set up. The exercise of the state's prerogatives of social organization and management is closely connected with its capability of turning the socio-economic and political objectives into law-like norms, providing general and compulsory regulations of conduct.

The fundamental objectives of the state are fulfilled through the agency of its functions, determined by the essence and tasks of the state in each stage of its development. As such, the functions of the state do not have an immutable content, but develop in keeping with the changes in society. Thus, a series of its functions change, being taken over and exercised by mass democratic bodies, with another content.

through worker self-management and the masses' participation in all social activities.

The establishment of a function of the state is not done at random, outside its spheres of fundamental activity. Likewise, not any kind of state activity nor one which is carried on by the agency of state bodies, represent functions of the state. If we accepted such a point of view, it would mean that there are as many functions of the socialist state as the activities it carries out. What gives the quality of state function to an activity (or a group of activities) is its fundamental character. Once one stage is traversed, the content of certain state functions change—certain aspects diminish or, on the contrary, gain scope—and new functions appear while others disappear. As Ceaușescu pointed out "in view of the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society, of providing the premise for the passage to communism, the functions of the state will change even more, its internal activity focusing on the organization of production, of scientific and cultural life."

Among the functions of the state, the economic function is particularly important. The share and importance of this function is due to the decisive role of the state in the unitary planning and organization of the national economy, in the solving of the questions posed by social activities. This function is grounded on the single national plan which ensures the harmonious development of productive forces all over the country, the improvement of social relations, a further rise in the degree of civilization, and in the material and spiritual standard of living of the people. In exercising the economic function, the state bodies are concerned with improving the planning and management of economic activity in industry, agriculture, transport, etc., as well as in their sub-branches and sectors. The socialist state uses the single national plan of economic and social development as the main instrument for regulating all the economic processes, the planning activity being a basic element of the entire socio-economic and political governing of the country.

The particularly complex problems of the current five-year plan implies, naturally, an increase in the active role of the state bodies (ministries, centrals, economic units, etc.) in the management of all economic activities, in the organization of production and in the elimination of the drawbacks still occurring in certain units and even ministries. But as it was shown at the November 1981 Plenary meeting of the CC of the RCB, many enterprises and other ministries did not prove their readiness to work firmly for the fast resolution of the questions related to technical-material supply and this led to shortcomings in the rhythmical unfolding of the productive process and to shortfalls in the building of certain planned units. Ceaușescu insisted on the fact that in many enterprises there still prevailed a climate of

self-satisfaction, indiscipline—even disorder—and insufficient interest in the promotion of new techniques, for the good organization and management of economic activity. Each state body which runs an economic activity is required to increase the spirit of responsibility in the fulfilment of the tasks and show concern for the improvement of general activity in keeping with the requirements of the national economy.

Internally, the state also exercises the social, cultural-educational and ideological functions, as well as the functions of defence, of fighting anti-social phenomena and manifestations and of strengthening law and order.

The party and the state's constant care for the improvement of the quality of life led to the coming into being of a new, autonomous function, namely the social function. With a complex, permanently improved content, this function is not only established by an analytical, theoretic démarche; it is first of all the consequence of continued and steady activities by which the state contributes to the permanent improvement of the human condition.

The function of class repression no longer exists, due to the evolution of the state's essence and the content of its power. Of course, anti-social acts are still perpetrated and some laws are still infringed upon, but it cannot be said that such actions would be done from class positions or that they pursue obvious political ends directed against the social classes and categories that maintain and exercise the power. At present the function of defence and of combating any anti-social phenomena, performed ultimately by means of coercion is chiefly based on the direct participation of working people in doing justice, the actuation of public opinion in preventing anti-social acts and the severe sanctioning of those who infringe upon the state's decisions and laws of social order and discipline. It goes without saying that proper organization of the activities demands the strict observance of the state's laws and of the principles and rules of socialist ethics and equity.

In the field of culture, education and ideology, the state has important attributions regarding the deepening of the socialist consciousness of all citizens and the generalization of a more advanced degree of culture and professional and ideological training. The ideological facet of this function is to reflect the party's ideological programme, with the state being in fact an instrument of implementation of its policy.

The carrying through of the programme of multilateral development requires Romania's participation in the international division of labour, in the world circuit of assets. Of course, the interdependencies in international life depend on the ensuring of a climate of peace, security and cooperation among all states of the world. By its external functions, the state plays an active role in the world arena, campaigning for closer

collaboration, against the policies of strength and dictatorship and violation of freedom and national independence. Romania attaches special importance in this respect to the steady development of her relations with all socialist countries, to collaboration and solidarity with countries building a new system and to the strengthening of collaboration and cooperation with the developing countries and the non-aligned states. As stressed by Nicolae Ceaușescu, "In the circumstances of the current economic and financial crisis, it is now more necessary than ever that we should intensify relations of collaboration with all states of the world, and overcome complex issues by solving them in the spirit of observance of every nation's interests and independence."

Nicolae Ceaușescu has repeatedly drawn attention to the dangers of bureaucracy and alienation from the masses when handling the state apparatus and economic management. The emergence of social contradictions that are not solved in due time, he stressed, can harm the interests of socialist construction. Hence the conclusion that one should see to it that the state does not become a body standing above society; it should be organically integrated in socialist society. Starting from the imperative demand of ensuring full harmony between the development level of the productive forces, the relations of production and the level of social organization, Nicolae Ceaușescu emphasizes "the contradictions existing in socialism should be investigated, just like the party's and state's purposeful action for their settlement".

President Ceaușescu does not conceal the fact that there are contradictions and differences among classes and groups in socialist society. He says that it would be a mistake to overlook certain contradictions between villages and the towns, manual and mental work or between incomes, for example. The question is not to deny or underestimate the existence of such contradictions. What should be done, starting from the recognition of them, is to thoroughly study them and purposefully act taking account of the objective laws of social development in socialism, so that they may not amplify or lead to violence. "The role of the purposeful factor of the state's activity consists not in turning a blind eye and denying the existence of the contradictions, but in seeking out ways to atone and eradicate them, while permanently ensuring free ground for the assertion of what is new in all domains of activity", advocates Ceaușescu.

Following the principle that the forms of social leadership and organization are not immutable, that they must be permanently bettered, Nicolae Ceaușescu suggested a host of measures for a better operation of the state bodies. He started by improving the organization of territorial administration, dividing Romania's map into a larger number of counties (there are 42 of them today) and the simplification

of the state's administrative apparatus, by bringing central leadership closer to the basic units, to the places where party and state decisions are directly implemented.

The establishment of the counties, as demonstrated in practice, allowed for the development of all zones of Romania; with the towns' growing attributions in the more rational use of resources, in properly managing urban development, the development of the communes as strong administrative units and the beginning of rural systematization in relation to the socio-economic profile of rural localities.

Under Nicolae Ceaușescu's direct guidance, numerous measures were initiated for the improvement of the activity of the Grand National Assembly, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the ministries, and county, town and commune councils. Action was taken for the expansion and improvement of worker control and, in general, of the exercise of the control of socio-economic activity by the working people themselves.

As early as 1967 Nicolae Ceaușescu insisted on the importance of ensuring a just ratio in the distribution of the forces to various sectors of socio-economic activity, especially between the productive and the administrative-clerical sectors. Starting from the fact that national wealth, social values and material and scientific assets are created in the sphere of productive work, he pointed out that the main forces of society should be concentrated in this domain and, logically, the administrative-clerical personnel should be gradually reduced, in step with the introduction of the modern methods of management and computation in economic and social life. This personnel was continuously being changed under his guidance, and, especially in the planning, economic conception and synthesis, a systematic rotation was ensured—a permanent flow of cadres from production to those sectors and vice versa. A permanent and organic link was thus achieved between the productive units and the administrative apparatus.

Nicolae Ceaușescu developed a series of very interesting theses in connection with the concept of legality, consistently pointing out that activity in all domains of social life must be thoroughly based upon the rigorous principles of law. In this respect, ample activity for the drafting and endorsement of new laws, in harmony with the country's realities, proceeded over the years on Nicolae Ceaușescu's initiative and with his direct participation. The purpose of this activity was the entrenchment of rigorous order in the unfolding of activity in all spheres of statal, economic and social life, the elimination of arbitrariness, subjectivism and the prevention of abuses.

Ceaușescu emphasizes that the bodies of prosecution "have to rigorously control the firm enforcement of the laws, allowing no abuse or infringement upon socialist legality, but equally allowing no

tolerance, leaving none unpunished who disregard the country's laws. "We shall do our utmost so that one may not unjustly suffer if one has not violated the laws or rules of community life, but at the same time we should see to it that none of those that are guilty of violating the laws, may remain unpunished, in keeping with the gravity of the offence."

Ceaușescu steadily demanded and worked for the country's laws to be the result of consultation with the whole nation before being advanced to the Grand National Assembly for endorsement, so that no law may be passed unless it enjoys the masses' adhesion. In order to be observed, a law or rule must first of all be known, Ceaușescu said, insisting on the duties incumbent, in this sense, on the party and state bodies, economic, social and cultural structures, whose entire activity he expects to be imbued with a sense of responsibility for the observance of socialist legality.

In this spirit, Ceaușescu indicated the need to discover ways to prevent people from committing offences and, when they do commit them, to help them reform. He stressed the necessity of strengthening political-ideological activity, the educative influence of the collectivities in enterprises, farm units, institutions, families, schools, women's, youth and young pioneers' organizations. The purpose of the whole educative activity, he mentioned, should be every citizen's organic integration in the work and life of the collectivity where he or she belongs, in the rules of life and in the principles of socialism.

According to Nicolae Ceaușescu's conception, socialist democracy progresses in step with the working people's growing level of training and competence, with their ideological and political level, with their widening horizons of knowledge. It is incompatible with anarchic manifestations and infringement upon the norms of community life and upon the country's law. According to his opinion, petty bourgeois liberalism, conceptions about so-called absolute freedom with no boundaries and narrow-minded individualist attitudes which do not take account of society's general interests, have nothing to do with real socialist democracy. But, he goes on, the broad development of civic rights and freedoms and the improvement of socialist democracy cannot be conceived without every person's social responsibility for the general interests of society.

In the process of communist construction, he says, the state, taken as an instrument of one class's domination over another, will cease to exist, as it becomes an instrument of organization and government of the whole socio-economic activity and of the settlement of social relations. Instead of the state, there will be bodies of society with the mission to organize, lead and plan the entire social activity. The democratically elected bodies of management and organization will be

subject more and more to the control of the popular mass which will ensure a strict observance of the rules of the communist principles of life. This is, Ceaușescu says, how the most advanced form of socialist democracy—the passage from necessity to freedom—will be achieved.

The theses set forth by Nicolae Ceaușescu enrich the theory and practice of socialist and communist construction with creative, original and most valuable contributions drawn from scientific, in-depth study and investigation, in the light of dialectical and historical materialism, the realities in Romania, the experience of revolutionary struggle for the transformation of society, and the international communist and working-class movement.

Nicolae Ceaușescu has made an equally appreciated contribution also to the scientific substantiation of the nation's role in the progressive development of society in general, and of contemporary society, in building socialism and the future passage to communism. According to him, "the development of contemporary society proves that the nation—a social-historical category always greatly heeded by Marxism-Leninism—is fully valid today, too". Recent history corroborates this truth. "We have been witnesses", he said, "to a tremendous world drive for a national reawakening of people and to the struggle for liberation from the yoke of colonial domination. Scores of peoples have won back their independence, have embarked on the road of formation, consolidation and development as self-dependent nations. The struggle for the nations' affirmation is an essential component of the socio-political picture of our epoch".

Considering that the nation is far from having exhausted its progressive role in the development of contemporary society, Nicolae Ceaușescu points out that even in the developed capitalist countries, where the nation has attained a high level of maturity, the struggle in defence of national interests and against imperialist policies, supernational societies and the interference in internal affairs, acquires the character of a large mass drive, powerfully influencing the whole social policy.

Ceaușescu is convinced that it is only in socialism that conditions are provided for the nations' full affirmation. "Capitalist and imperialist societies have disregarded national interest, denying the nations' right to independence and sovereignty. We, the communists, have always stood against capitalist, imperialist policy, hoisting the banner of equality of rights among people and nations". With regard to the new system existing today in Romania and in a number of other countries, the nation and the state will for a long time to come be the basis of socialist society's development. The development of the nation and the consolidation of the socialist state are in harmony with the objective requirements of social life. The nation does not exhaust its functions

after the proletarian revolution. Ceaușescu shows that in Romania, only after the country's liberation, after the working class became the leading force of society, after the beginning of the construction of the socialist system, were the nation's energies and creative capabilities fully released, becoming a dynamic force in Romania's progress and civilization.

The affirmation of the nation's fundamental features in conditions of building the socialist society, however, is paralleled by the changing character of some of these features and by the emergence of new features, which consolidate and strengthen the socialist nation. Now, the working people have a new conception about the world and life, namely dialectical and historical materialism. New science and culture develop, the revolutionary ethics take shape, which contribute to the moulding of a new man, a process of rapprochement between town and village occurs and the classes, the fundamental differences between manual and mental work, gradually disappear. "The emergence of new features of the nation does not lead to its fading; on the contrary, it consolidates the nation and provides conditions for its promotion to a new, qualitatively higher stage, Ceaușescu says, "It can be said that a new type of nation comes into being, incomparably stronger and more homogenous than the bourgeois nation, a socialist nation, in which there is better harmony between the productive forces and the relations of production and profounder unity among all working people".

Ceaușescu emphasizes at the same time that, based on a law-like process, the essential differences among nations are likely to disappear at a certain stage of society's development, probably in the age of full communism. But, he mentions, "at present we are far from considering that the nation has concluded its historic mission". On the contrary, "the Marxist-Leninist analysis of contemporary social relations can only lead to the conclusion that the revolutionary parties have to do their utmost for the affirmation and development of nations".

Nicolae Ceaușescu takes into consideration the fact that in the course of historic development a process of rapprochement among nations occurs, based on equal collaboration among them. Of course, in the age of full communism, national states and the essential differences among nations will gradually disappear, but the nation will keep existing within an organization of its own, as a distinct entity. On this basis, an intimate, multilateral collaboration among nations will be achieved. Starting from this historical perspective, President Ceaușescu considers that the dialectical process of rapprochement among nations can be in no way forced; this process requires first of all the strong affirmation and prosperity of each and the promotion of principled relations among them, based on full equality, mutual esteem and regard.

Ceaușescu also approached in a principled manner, in today's new conditions, the questions related to the existence of co-existing nationalities.

In Romania, the population is made up today of 88.13 per cent Romanians, 7.91 per cent Magyars, 1.61 per cent Germans, and 2.33 per cent other nationalities.

"Our party", he stated, "approached this question by taking full account of the fact that their existence in our country's territory is a historical reality, that over the centuries these populations have lived, worked and fought together with the Romanian people for social and national freedom and for progress and civilization. Everything that has been achieved over the centuries is the fruit of common work".

The conception about the nation's historical development has a profound sense for Nicolae Ceaușescu, being a scientific, substantiated answer given to all those who try to erroneously present the situation in Romania. Among them, is the thesis according to which Romania would be a multinational state. "This thesis", says Nicolae Ceaușescu, "does not accord with reality; it disregards the fact that the formation of a unitary Romanian national state was an objective necessity of Romania's development, a fact referred to, in due course, by Marx, then by Lenin, as early as 1914. The fact that Romania's territory is also inhabited by Magyars and Germans, and by other nationalities, is merely the result of historical development. To speak of a multinational state in Romania would mean to imply the union of various nations, which was not and is not the case".

Some of these nationalities came here as migrants, and others—like those of German origin—settled in Romania's territory in the first centuries of the second millennium, becoming, as Ceaușescu says, "citizens de facto and de jure—with full rights—of Romania, and their only homeland is here".

These nationalities, he says, will continue to exist for a long time and the Romanian Communist party ensures fully equal rights for them, with no discrimination. The Party starts from the principle that the settlement of the national issue is, in the light of dialectical and historical materialism, an essential task of every communist party and an element of the very construction of socialism and communism. By the virtue of this principle, the development of a climate congenial for the multilateral social affirmation of all working people, irrespective of nationality, is one of the permanent preoccupations of the party and of its leadership.

Councils of working people belonging to the co-existing nationalities were set up in 1969 upon Ceaușescu's initiative, as bodies to ensure a fit organizational framework for the intensification of the socio-political activity of these citizens. The organizational forms are one aspect, the

rational distribution of the productive forces throughout the country, the economic development of all localities and counties, the equal development of those inhabited by working people of other nationalities, make the foundation of equality among Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities.

Stressing that there is every condition at hand in Romanian society for working people to learn and express themselves in the language they understand and know best, Nicolae Ceaușescu urges all citizens to act together in the same language—the language of work, of the builders of socialism and communism, of the socialist nation's supreme interests of progress. "In building a new society, we also have to build new social relations, to start a way of co-existence and expression among people that should accord with truly comradely relations of mutual assistance in all domains—in work, in life, in everything we achieve in our homeland... The only difference for the various nationalities among the working people must be the possibility to speak one language or another, to learn in one language or another; all of us have to work in the same way and speak the same language—the communist language—since it is only in this way that we will be genuine revolutionists and will build a new society in which man should be free and master of his destiny. Common work and creation will lead to an even closer union of the Romanian people and other nationalities within one big family of socialist Romania".

The Romanian Communist Party assumes full responsibility in the elucidation of the national question and in solving the problems related to co-existence and development of all people. In the light of this preoccupation, the Party, through the voice of its General Secretary, gave a very clear reply to those who like to speculate on the matter of co-existing nationalities in Romania, to all those who, under this pretext, still claim a right to interference in the Romanian people's affairs.

"I wish", said Nicolae Ceaușescu, "to stress the fact that the problems of the Romanian nationals in Hungary, Yugoslavia and other countries are not solved in Bucharest, but in Budapest, in Belgrade and in the other capitals. In the same way, the problems of the Magyar, German, Serbian and other nationalities in Romania are not solved in Budapest, Berlin or Bonn, in Belgrade or elsewhere, but here, in Bucharest, by our party. On this occasion too, I say that as far as we are concerned, we will never take advantage of the existence of Romanian nationals in other territories and interfere in other states' affairs. Likewise, we shall not allow anyone to use the question of nationalities as a means of interfering in Romania's internal affairs. The settlement of all problems regarding the life and work of the citizens in Romania, irrespective of their nationality, concerns only our party, state and people and they

are, and will always be solved in the spirit of our general policy of raising our whole people's welfare and happiness".

Nicolae Ceaușescu's general conceptions on the approach to the questions of history are equally principled. In his public speeches and meetings with scientists, he steadily exhorts that the study of history should contribute to the strengthening of collaboration and cooperation among peoples and nations, starting from the new principles of international relations, fully equal rights and observance of every nation's independence and sovereignty.

"Although meant to investigate the past", said Nicolae Ceaușescu, "history should start from the realities of today, which no one can change. These realities show, for example, that there are independent nations today in Europe, where the questioning of frontiers means a revenge-seeking policy that can only lead to war, which is why any attempts to question these realities of today's world should be rejected".

Ceausescu energetically fights the tendency of some to attach exaggerated importance to certain isolated historical moments and facts, urging researchers to start—as required in fact by scientific laws—from the general conditions in which one people or another came into being and developed, from the relations of collaboration among peoples and the close interrelation of civilizations. "It is with this in mind that we should set out when explaining the historical process of development of the Romanian people, as its formation is the result of certain material, cultural and spiritual conditions that ensured its specific features. Investigating this process, the men of science should lay stress on the historical facts that favoured contacts and mutual influences among the populations of these parts, a process that was at the basis of the formation of our nations, of the Balkan people and of other neighbouring peoples".

We should stress, Ceausescu added, what our people have achieved in common—the fact that their civilization is the fruit of collaboration. In this respect, at the 60th anniversary of the Romanian Communist Party (May 8, 1981) he took a stand against the foreign historians who try in every way to manufacture history and to question the continuity of the Dacians' and Romans' descendants, i.e., of the Romanian people on Romania's territory.

"What can we say to the historians who deny the existence of a people with such a glorious history of struggle as ours? The best reply is reality, the fact that of all migratory populations, none was able to replace the people that had come into being and settled on these lands".

And he added:
"It might be better for some historians in certain neighbouring countries if they emphasized everything that contributed to the

development of the friendship among our people; and this, no doubt, applies also to our historians. Let us bring into prominence the common forerunners, like Petru, Asan, Ionița, like John of Hunedoara and Matei Corvin—in order to understand the development, over the ages, of the relations between our people.

President Ceaușescu applies an historical perspective to the question of the different nationalities in Romania, in that in the epoch of communism, with the disappearance of the classes, a new stage will be attained by the unity of the working people, irrespective of nationality, who will become more integrated, in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and communism. He shows that, of course, even in such a future society, certain specific features will still remain such as differences among various categories of working people, related to their role in the productive process, in the social activity, and all this characterizes the dialectical unity of the working people.

The process of homogenization of society, Ceaușescu says, is a result of the disappearance of the antagonistic classes and of the strengthened worker-peasant alliance, of the gradual atonement of the essential differences between manual and non-manual labour, industrial and agricultural work, living conditions in villages and in towns and of the widening horizon of culture and a more even level of knowledge of all working people. This is an essential factor of the full accomplishment of the ideals of social equality and justice.

"In the next period", reads the Programme of the Romanian Communist Party, "the process of accomplishing a unitary society of all working people will be speeded up and it will have as its only goal, the continuous increase of national wealth, the raising of people's welfare and culture and a society of all types of workers sharing the same purpose".

The Romanian Communist Party considers that care for the prosperity of the socialist nation in no way conflicts with the development of collaboration, solidarity and mutual assistance with socialist countries. On the contrary, the tendency to differentiate, in one form or another, between internationalism and the progress of the nation and of the independent national state, is a grave mistake apt to greatly harm the interests of socialism in every country worldwide. For these reasons, stressed Nicolae Ceaușescu, "The Romanian Communist Party considers it its duty to do its utmost for the development of the Romanian socialist nation; not only does this not contradict proletarian internationalism, but it is one of the essential, fundamental features of internationalism. One cannot be an internationalist if one does not love one's own nation, if one does not fight for its liberation."

Nowadays, it is precisely the strengthening of every nation and the

development of relations of full equality among them, which is an essential condition for the strengthening of internationalism. Internationalism, in Ceaușescu's views, objectively implies the existence of nations and of relations between them. As nations develop along the path of multilateral affirmation and prosperity, so internationalism will strengthen. This is why the Romanian Communist Party and socialist Romania heed so much the provision of every condition for the socialist nation's progress.

Approaching this question in the spirit of the materialist-dialectical revolutionary conception, Nicolae Ceaușescu is confident that his party discharges its great responsibilities and duties as a communist party, both to the Romanian nation and to the other socialist nations, to the general cause of friendship, solidarity and collaboration among all socialist and progressive forces and among all peoples of the world.

It is obvious that an essential facet of democracy in today's Romania consists of a direct link of the leadership, of every party and state activist, from top to bottom—from the President of the Republic, to the mayor of the commune—with the working people ensuring a permanent dialogue with the masses on the settlement of issues.

"Our party is strong, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front is strong", says Ceaușescu, "precisely because they rely on a close connection with the working people. The party will always act so its policy may be the direct expression of the interests of the whole socialist nation".

President Nicolae Ceaușescu's presence in the places where the fate of production is decided, where the main economic and social activities are unfolded and where the spiritual assets are produced, is greatly appreciated by all citizens—Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities. He enjoys the prestige of a man close to the people, a man who knows how to listen to and understand proposals, initiatives, wishes, observations and suggestions. It is not by chance that he meets a large number of citizens or that hundreds of thousands of letters and telegrams are annually sent to him and he personally takes care of solving them all. The daily "Scînteia", the central newspaper of the party, has a weekly section of letters addressed to Nicolae Ceaușescu personally, and the activity related to the working people's letters and intimations is annually analyzed in the plenum of the party's Central Committee, with a report published each time for the information of the public.

What else, if not great confidence, do letters show, which the citizens address to the Party's General Secretary, marked "in person only", either to the Central Committee, or during visits to the country's towns and villages? What else expresses the fact that when some irregularity occurs here or there, people warn ultimately that they "will turn to

Nicolae Ceaușescu." On the recommendation of the General Secretary, the Central Committee of the party has already endorsed the Resolution on improving the activity for the settlement of intimations proposals and applications of the working people.

As a politician with a modern conception of leadership, Ceaușescu clearly sees the importance of the role of the person chosen to guide the process of multilateral development of society. "A violinist plays by himself, an orchestra needs a conductor" said Marx.

Using Marx's metaphor, said Ceaușescu, referring to the leading role of the party and of the party activist within it, "we can say that the development of modern society in general, and, in particular, of socialist society, which is the work of purposeful creation of the masses demands the existence of a multilateral conductor, with multiple qualities and knowledge. As a matter of fact, many conductors are active in today's society, who, at various levels of social organization, ensure proper running of the public mechanism and guidance for the countless compartments of activity. But in turn, all these conductors have to act in a unitary manner, based on a single, central leadership and guidance."

The Organization of Socio-economic Life

The working people in an enterprise have to understand the fact that they are the owners of that enterprise, that they are directly responsible for the preservation and defence of property and for its development, that it is their duty to achieve with the means at their hand, a continuous increase in economic efficiency ensuring the necessary means for their remuneration and share of profits, the development of the productive forces, and meeting the state's needs, and country's defence."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

Ceaușescu pays special attention to the improvement of the system of economic organization and management, both in industry and agriculture.

In industry, the focal point is each enterprise as "a basic unit of the whole national economy". Consequently, their attributions and competence were extended, and measures were taken for strengthening their economic self-administration. Besides an increase in the enterprise's production responsibilities, links of cooperation and specialization between enterprises—branches and sub-branches—were intensified, several enterprises being merged into large, independent units, with the aim of solving essential problems more efficiently for industrial groups were founded, which have important responsibilities for fulfilling production plans and the programme of investments for promoting technical progress and for developing the activities of home and foreign trade.

Permanent attention is paid to the amplification and updating of the productive forces, to raising them to the level of economically advanced countries. They pursue a continuous improvement in the relations of production, the increase in productivity and quality, the reduction of expenditure and consumption and the achievement of more efficiency, both in industry and agriculture. These essential objectives in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania required, according to President Ceaușescu's economic conception, a new system, not only regarding structures and forms of functioning, but also regarding the application of principles, methods and levers of management of the national economy as a whole, and of its interrelated chains and cells. Added to these, were the new demands and modalities of measuring and controlling the efforts required by economic activity, and of commensurating and encouraging its effects.

Nicolae Ceaușescu has endeavoured to meet the requirements regarding the development of socialist society in his country, thereby solving some contradictions and meeting needs between the modern technico-material base created in these last few decades and the still unsatisfactory economic efficiency of its utilization; between the development of human and material productive forces and the various facets of the relations of production, between the system of interests and the system of incentives; the objective necessity of thoroughly knowing the demand of the home and foreign markets, and certain facets of the old economic and financial mechanism that had become slow, formalistic and bureaucratic; between the requirements of development of the socialist economic democracy and the limits imposed by the economic and financial mechanism in operation before.

What are, as seen by Nicolae Ceaușescu, the main elements of the measures regarding the improvement of economic mechanism in Romania?

- (a) the affirmation and improvement of worker self-management, as a basic principle for economic management, along with the principle of democratic centralism;
- (b) the passage to the application of the units' economic and financial self-management and their increased competences and responsibilities;
- (c) the improvement of the system of economic incentives, by applying the share of all workers and experts in profits;
- (d) the improvement of the system of planning and economic indices.

From the speeches and frequently expressed views on the subject of economic development, at the latest National Conference of the party, we note that Nicolae Ceaușescu knows the conditions of the application of such a system that is absolutely new to Romania; it can only be applied in conditions of a very good understanding of the role of every cadre in

the productive process and of a good knowledge and proper fulfilment of all provisions of the new system.

"It should be clear to everyone", he said, addressing his compatriots, "that the implementation of the party's policy of raising material and spiritual living standards, can only be done by continuously developing the productive forces, and by increasing the efficiency and responsibility of our entire economic activity. Account should be taken in all sectors of the fact that one cannot consume from the national income more than it is possible at a given moment, as a result of the general development of the productive forces and of the millions the society has at its disposal".

"The new economic and financial mechanism means, first of all, the fulfilment of production, the growth of new output, of the profitability and profits and the securing, on this basis, of additional funds for partaking in profits", said Nicolae Ceaușescu. He does not hesitate to stress a reality: some people erroneously understood that the enforcement of this mechanism would merely be a way of making bigger profits without making adequate efforts as well. "This is not the new economic mechanism!" he warned those who misunderstood it, urging unitary action for raising profitability, the only source of increasing the profits of all staff. "This problem should be well understood by everybody", he stressed "by all workers, who are owners and end-users, consumers and producers alike, and by peasants and office workers—by all of us! We should understand it in a unitary manner and act in a unitary manner in this respect!"

"Life shows that one man alone, no matter how competent, cannot ensure the settlement of the complex problems posed by the administration and management of the enterprise, industrial group and ministry", said Nicolae Ceaușescu. "This requires a firm promotion of collective management, that should allow the approach to and settlement of the multiple problems of economic life, the removal of arbitrariness in decision-making, the full use of the experts' experience, and that of the mass of working people".

Based on his proposals, the founding of collective management bodies in enterprises was started, made up of technical and economic cadres, experts and experienced workers. Their attributions were to discuss and endorse decisions on basic questions of organization and development of the economic activity in the unit. Likewise, they institutionalized, the general meetings of the working people.

President Ceaușescu is convinced that this democratic system of collective management provides the best conditions for the direct and actual participation of the working class in running the productive units.

The principles of the new economic and financial mechanism find wide application also in the farm sector of the economy.

"In agriculture, as in the whole economy", pointed out Nicolae Ceaușescu, "the introduction of the new economic mechanism means, first of all, the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production and profits as planned, self-financing and the permanent financial equilibrium of all units. The application of the principles of self-management and self-administration will have to lead to an increase in the responsibility for the fulfilment of production and the continuous reduction of expenditure".

Ceaușescu makes no secret of his opposition to the method of increasing incomes according to unjustified increases in prices. That is why, on recommending a correct application of the principles of the new economic and financial mechanism, he urged the working people in agriculture to understand that the source of increasing their profits should be an increase in production.

"We should bear in mind that it is only by maintaining prices, in industry and agriculture", he affirmed "that we can ensure the stability of our national economy, the carrying through of the country's development programme, and the continuous improvement of people's material and spiritual welfare".

As a matter of fact, democratic leadership appears as a natural effect of the forms of socialist property, production and distribution existing in Romania. As owners, producers and consumers, the working people, irrespective of nationality, are the organizers of the whole productive activity and are called upon to behave as genuine masters of the national wealth. The working people's interest in everything that is going on around them and their participation in production, in distribution and in governing the state, generate the feeling of being masters of their country. "The state", the President recently showed, "is not and must not be owner in the legal sense of the word; socialist property belongs to the people. The state is a mere instrument in the hands of the working class, in the organized economic and social development".

The essential coordination of the measures enforced in recent years for the improvement of the forms of collective management, for the development of worker self-management, is the consolidation of the unitary management of society. They are based on the single national plan, concomitant with the increased responsibility of enterprises and local bodies in the management and planning of their own activity, with enlarged worker democracy and self-management, so that every condition should be provided for the intense mobilization of the national resources towards the directions that actually bring about steady, equilibrated and efficient economic growth.

In this frame, the measures for the improvement of the economic and financial mechanism endorsed in 1978, hold a special place, since they

provide conditions for the economic units, the collective management bodies to employ adequate levers so as to efficiently work toward a profitable capitalization of their resources and towards better economic results.

In the field of planning, according to the requirements of the new economic and financial mechanism, the flow-chart should be organized so that the enterprises and administrative-territorial units, which are best acquainted with their productive potential, may actually participate in the thorough substantiation of their draft plans; the general meetings of working people—the supreme management fora in enterprises—are granted the right to endorse the production plans.

As we have seen, the new economic and financial mechanism firmly relies on self-management and self-financing. In such conditions, the enterprises have to ensure that their expenses can be met out of their income; the self-financing of the whole activity, the paying back of the money given by society and the participation to a greatest extent in the formation of the state's centralized resources; the setting up of the enterprises' own funds: the remuneration fund, the development fund meant for the self-financing of the productive investments, the social investments fund, the fund for the working people's partaking in profits.

The current economic and financial mechanism relates the staff's income to the results for better, in the fulfilment of the plan tasks. The manner of formation and distribution of the funds for the share in profits and the funds for investment and social actions, encourages the personnel who make outstanding achievements in production. This direction will be continued. Some 70 per cent of the fixed assets, of the basic funds of the unity should be common property entrusted to the respective collectivity of working people for administration, management and development, and about 30 per cent of the basic means should belong to the working people in the respective unit, based on each and everyone's participation with a proper share. It is envisaged that the working people may deposit, in the form of a "social share", a certain amount of money, from 10,000 lei to 50,000 lei a person. For the deposited money, those who participate in the development fund are to receive annually a profit of some six per cent, apart from the general rights of remuneration and profit sharing and, where the activity proceeded by good results—where the profits are bigger than planned—the income may, in certain cases, even top six per cent.

Industrialization

"The fundamental objective of the 1981-1985 five-year plan—the second stage of fulfilment of the programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society is the high-rate growth of the national economy, the powerful affirmation of the technico-scientific revolution in every domain, the passage to a new quality of economic and social activity".

Nicolae Ceaușescu

The Romanian leader visualizes an even greater consolidation of the socialist mode of production, a higher degree of civilization, and a strengthening of Romania's material and spiritual force, and of her independence and sovereignty.

The implementation of the provisions of the 1981-1985 five-year plan will speed up the country's development with regard to the technico-material base and the organization of society ensuring a rise in the per capita national income, an improvement in living conditions, a higher level of education, science and culture, and an increase in Romanians' general level of civilization.

"Romania will leave behind in this quinquennium the stage of being a developing socialist country and will become a semi-developed socialist country, crossing a stage of utmost importance in the effectuation of the Party's Programme on the road towards a communist society."

Although the growth rates of industry and agriculture will be somewhat lower between 1981 and 1985 than in the previous five years, they are scheduled to be equal to the whole of production in 1975 and three times greater than that in 1965.

"We have taken into consideration", explained Nicolae Ceaușescu "the somewhat lower rate since between 1970 and 1980, we advanced on a wide front, completing a very long road in our development and it is now necessary to consolidate our achievements to ensure a lasting base for the continuation of the construction of a multilaterally developed society. In economy, as in military matters, or in any other domain, one cannot advance without consolidating what one has gained, or, without ensuring the material forces for further advance ..."

In spite of this steadying in the growth rate which is tactically justified, especially in view of the world economic conjunctures and of their effects with regard to energy and raw materials whose influences on the Romanian economy cannot be denied, Romania's development rates remain, in the 1980's among the highest. Romania's ambition, unequivocally expressed by Ceaușescu, is to become completely self-sufficient in terms of energy by 1990. Coal extractions, pursuant to discoveries made especially in Oltenia, the commissioning of a whole system of hydro-electric power units, including the Iron Gates II, built with Yugoslavia and the plant at Turnu Magurele-Nicopol, built with Bulgaria, the commissioning of the first atomic-electric power unit of 600 MW and the means of exploiting the Black Sea oil resources discovered only recently, all herald the success of the energy self-sufficiency plan.

Not long ago, the Bucharest authorities endorsed measures pursuing the most intense utilization of raw and auxiliary materials and rigorous

fuel and energy economy in all sectors of activity. They recently established that by 1985, they will have to ensure a 15 per cent cut in the consumption of primary energy and reusable energy resources compared with the planned consumption estimated by 1981 norms. This economy measure is now the central task of every unit, of all working people and of the whole party.

Machine building will continue to be the branch with the most dynamic development, an important place being held by electronics. Chemistry too, will have a high growth rate, with stress laid on the better capitalization of raw materials.

In general, over 1,200 new capacities will be built in Romania between 1981 and 1985 and 1,100 other important industrial units will be updated.

At one of the party's recent plenary meetings President Ceaușescu concluded:

"Romania's passage to a new developmental stage—to the group of semi-developed countries—will not and must not change the basic orientation of her economy. We should permanently bear in mind that the attainment of the objectives of the Party Programme—of the decisions of the 12th Congress—calls for the further earmarking of some 30 per cent of the national income to the development of productive forces. Our socialist society, like any society, should permanently ensure the means for enlarged-scale reproduction and high accumulation, which is the basis for development of the productive forces and for raising the country's general standard of civilization".

The New Green Revolution

"Starting from the fundamental objective of the plan for 1981-1985, the 12th Congress set the task of strongly developing agriculture, as one of the basic branches which conditions general socio-economic progress of our society. In fact, we intend to carry through a genuine green revolution with regard to production, labour productivity, technical level, economic efficiency and general social activity in our villages. Everything possible will be done in order to get greater plant and animal production, on a par with the level of the front-ranking units, which should allow for meeting the scientifically substantiated needs of the population's consumption, as well as the other needs of the national economy. This calls for a better capitalization of the whole agricultural area, the judicious employment of the technico-material base of agriculture, of manpower and of experts. Pride of place should be given to a performance of operations in keeping with the most advanced agro-technical norms and to a better organization of production and labour. To ensure the growing economic might of the villages, the industrial and service activities and the processing of farm produce and other resources will all be greatly developed."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

A researcher closely following the Romanian political phenomenon will not find it difficult to see that Nicolae Ceaușescu suggested to his party a new vision of the role and position of agriculture within the national economy as a whole.

Ceaușescu referred more than once to the current objective of the Romanian policy in the world of the village: the implementation of a new green revolution in Romania. If we wonder why "a new green revolution", we will have to remember that the first socialist agricultural revolution took place in Romania between 1949 and 1962, consisting chiefly in the cooperativization of agriculture, a process which resulted in triumph for the socialist relations of production and the birth of a unitary socialist economy.

So, the first green revolution in Romania had a chiefly social character. An analysis of the situation of the productive forces, of the existing technico-material base development however shows that, although important successes were scored, it proved impossible to fully capitalize on the new type of relations. There seem to be two main reasons:

1. the gap inherited from the previous age, with relations of a different, capitalist type, and of small-scale production;
2. the underrating for a while, especially up to 1965, of the role of agriculture as a main branch of the national economy. This materialized especially in identification of too small a volume of investments, inadequate for the contribution that Romanian agriculture can and must make to the formation of the national income and to ensuring a necessary base of raw materials and foodstuffs.

Terming agriculture "a basic branch of the national economy", regarding its development in harmony with the other branches of the economy, President Ceaușescu was right to tell his party activists: "if we have good agriculture and a safe base of raw materials, we also have the conditions to develop any branch of industry".

The targets set are the following: 1. utilization of the whole land stock; 2. mechanization; 3. chemicalization; 4. the evolving of new plant strains and animal breeds and, generally, the wide application of science to production; 5. cadre training; 6. firm application of the new economic and financial mechanism; 7. widening of the village working people's horizon of scientific knowledge and revolutionary education.

The 12th Congress of the party endorsed, at Nicolae Ceaușescu's proposal, a volume of investments of 177 billion lei for the 1981-1985 period, which is far more than the investments in previous periods. The quantity of machinery (tractors, combines, etc.) is to ensure the ending

of sowing operations within 15 days, wheat harvesting within eight days and maize harvesting within 25-30 days. By the end of the five years there will be 320 kg of chemical fertilizers (high analysis) for every hectare of arable land. By 1985, there will be four million irrigated hectares and the double crops will be extended to at least two million hectares.

All these measures are first of all meant to ensure a bumper crop of cereals from 20 million tons to between 27 and 28 million tons in 1985. The general growth of farm production is estimated at 24-27 per cent over 1981-1985, compared with the previous period. In zootechnology, the numbers will go up by 1985 to eight million cattle, 14-15 million pigs, 20-22 million sheep, 60 million poultry, etc.

The new green revolution also pursues a strong development of industrial-type activities—especially in what Romania calls "small-scale industry", that is the processing of farm produce and other resources on a local plane, as well as the sector of services.

"In order to ensure the achievement of farm production as planned for 1981 and for the entire five years", said Nicolae Ceaușescu at the Congress, "we should work first of all for the utilization, with utmost efficiency, of the whole arable area, of the entire territory of the country. As I said before, we should found a national state commission to insure the unitary and scientific administration of the whole territory, most firmly working for an end to be put to waste and lack of responsibility in using the land, the decisive factor of farm production and the decisive means of our economic and social development. The complete and most efficient use of every square metre of land is a problem concerning all those who hold farm land in one form or another: cooperative farm members, workers of state agricultural enterprises and farm machinery units, the other residents of the cooperative villages, citizens in the non-cooperativized zones, as well as town residents. We should do everything possible so that by the end of this five-year period, arable land covers, as planned, at least ten million hectares.

At the same time, taking account of the fact that there are now areas of land with poor yield, a primordial task is increasing the productive potential of land, combatting soil erosion and eliminating excessive humidity. Utmost heed should be paid to improving saline and unproductive land and to redeeming them to farm production.

Every county, every joint agro-industrial council should study and establish the necessary nutritive elements for all categories of soils, taking into consideration the requirements of the cultivated crops. On this basis, they should establish a programme of increasing soil fertility, so that the biggest and most stable crops are obtained everywhere. The chemicalization centres we have set up under the joint agro-industrial

councils working in close collaboration with the experimental stations and with the county laboratories should ensure, based on thorough studies, a supply of the necessary chemical fertilizers and their rational administration by plots. At the same time, natural fertilizers should be used more.

Almost two and a half million hectares are at present laid out for irrigation. Because of drawbacks emerging in the irrigation systems, some cooperative farms and state enterprises take in crops from irrigated areas at the level of those on non-irrigated areas. That is why, every step should be taken for the proper operation of all irrigation systems in existence, for the adequate performance of the maintenance works and the assignment of highly-efficient crops to such lands. Everything possible should be done in 1981-1982 for the conclusion of the still unfinished irrigation works. The subsequent development of the areas laid out for irrigation should be aimed at providing conditions for their proper functioning, a thorough training of cadres, the development of intensive cultivation, the taking in of big crops and the attainment of utmost economic efficiency.

In the current five years we will complete the mechanization of all farm operations both in plant and animal production, equipping agriculture with a larger number of tractors, self-propelled combines and other machinery. The 65 HP tractor will have to remain our basic tractor and it therefore has to be improved, especially with regard to cutting down its fuel consumption, considering that it has proved to be a sturdy tractor, easy to handle, which fully meets our requirements. Of course, we will keep using the big tractors, but for more difficult operations, where their use is really justified, as well as some tractors for specific works in vegetable-growing, viticulture and fruit-tree growing. In recent meetings and analyses with experts, researchers and workers we established a host of measures for the building of machines efficient for several operations, which will help reduce the duration of farm operations and save fuel. For harvesting, agriculture will have to be equipped with multi-purpose combines for cereals and other crops, as well as with improved machinery for sugar beet, potatoes and fodder.

In agriculture, as with the entire economy, we have to pay greater care to increase the efficiency of investments. All forces must be used for completing work quickly, using standard designs and finding simple and economical solutions, employing for the most part local materials that can be found easily and with little expense.

In this way we will be able to raise the level of the material and spiritual civilization of the rural localities, bringing their living conditions more in line with those in towns and achieving a growing homogenization of Romanian society in all respects, in the spirit of the provisions of the Party's Programme."

Science, Culture and Education

"In our epoch of intense development of the productive forces and of the continuous amplification of human knowledge, the role and contribution of science as an essential element for the organization and development of modern society, is growing. The practical application of science is nowadays a fundamental condition for every nation's progress. The servants of science have the noble mission to serve mankind, to be the instruments of man's welfare and happiness and to support the struggle for the settlement of the major issues facing us today, on which progress and peace depend."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

The letter addressed to Nicolae Ceaușescu on the 15th anniversary of the 9th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, contains eulogistic references to his renewing spirit. "Today", the letter reads, "when we sum up with pride the great achievements of the last 15 years, it is more obvious than ever that, by truly scientific decisions, in whose elaboration you had the decisive role, the 9th Congress of the party, like subsequent congresses, has brought about radical changes in the level and quality of our productive forces, in our social structure, and in production relations, ensuring a consolidation of the socialist mode of production and a tangible increase in our level of material and spiritual civilization."

Nicolae Ceaușescu is really considered by his people as a true promoter of innovation, convinced that, according to the laws of dialectics, society, science, technology and culture, can be permanently renewed.

In this field of transformation he acts in person and constantly urges his compatriots to do the same, using the latest tools of science and technology. "We should always move towards new quality in our activity, both in the economic domain and in the field of political leadership", he said. "This new quality should be expressed in the powerful affirmation of the technico-scientific revolution."

"In the next five years", he said at the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, "an even more important role should be played by science—a decisive factor of development."

What is the direction set by the party's programme in this respect? It demands the resolute affirmation of the technico-scientific revolution in every domain, a growing role of science in updating the national economy, social life, and government, a closer relationship between research and production and a greater contribution of Romanian scientific creation to the multilateral progress of the country. All this points to the 1981–1990 period as being a decade of science, technology, quality and efficiency in Romania.

As early as December 1965, at a session of the Grand National Assembly, Nicolae Ceaușescu advanced a comprehensive programme for the reorganization of scientific activity, setting its objectives and tasks in the country's new development stage.

An analysis of the existing situation in scientific research", he said, "leads us to the conclusion that important progress has been made in this domain. At the same time, however, there are drawbacks, some serious, in the organization of research, which have resulted in our lagging behind in a number of important sectors of science". He also pointed out that some branches of science, power engineering, electronics, automation, chemistry, biochemistry, genetics, high energy physics, and biophysics, had not developed properly. They did not have, he said, a general directive for research towards the ends required by the development of economy and culture. Suggesting firm measures for the reorganization and reorientation of scientific research, he stressed the need for development of indigenous scientific thinking, under the new conditions of socialism and in keeping with the rich traditions of Romanian science. "History", he said, "shows that all people can make their own contribution to the development of the patrimony of world science. Scientific research is one of the main domains for the manifestation of genius, and the Romanian people have proved to the full their qualities, force, and capability to produce great scientific and cultural assets." He went on: "To confine yourself to purchasing the results of scientific research from abroad means buying the most expensive asset in the world market—intelligence. But—and this is even more condemnable—to underrate the role of science, not to try to keep pace with it means stagnation and backwardness. . . . This harms the interests of the people, the development of the nation, national independence and sovereignty and the homeland's prosperity."

Ceaușescu launched a package of measures for the development of the material base of scientific activity, as well as for the firm concentration and orientation of the country's scientific potential, to meet the basic needs of the economy and social life. This resulted in the foundation of the National Council for Science and Technology, whose purpose was to mobilize all forces towards the decisive directions of socialist construction. This council is now headed by Elena Ceaușescu d., eng., a member of the Romanian Academy and a scientist known and appreciated in Romania and in numerous foreign countries. The vast programme of research was to increase the role of science in the modernization of the national economy, under her leadership.

There are over 150,000 researchers in various domains. Ceaușescu urged them to work for the fast development of a base of raw materials and energy, the capitalization of the autochthonous resources of mineral substances, the utilization of alternative energy resources, the creation and assimilation of new and superior products, the application of advanced technologies, the evolving of new hybrids of high productive potential, the improvement of the animal breed and the promotion of the most efficient farming technologies. "We should start

from the fact that the whole development of mankind is the result of an uninterrupted dialectical evolution of nature and the universe, as well as of man's thinking, of his enlarged horizon of knowledge". Ceaușescu said: "By work and thought, man moulded and improved himself, transforming nature and society. According to this revolutionary vision, there is no phenomenon that cannot be known, there are only phenomena that are still not known but which can and will be known thanks to man's work and thinking, which ensures a continuing change of nature and society and the progress of human civilization". In this vast untapped field, Ceaușescu equally encompasses philosophy, sociology, politicalology, and all the other sciences that can help the theoretical investigation of the problems of socialist development. He requests the scientists in his country to study more thoroughly the changes taking place in the productive forces and social relations and in the world balance of forces.

By this, he attaches great importance to the role of theory in accomplishing progress. "Let us make of our revolutionary theory", Ceaușescu exhorted the scientists, "the flame that permanently enlightens the activity of the party, of communists, of everyone, in the task of building a communist society."

"We can say that Romanian education has attained a development level and a material basis which allows to successfully solve any problem in the domain of cadres' training for all sectors of activity". Ceaușescu recently said, "True, great efforts have been made for the building of this base of education, both in general and lyceum education. We have spent huge amounts of money for our institutions to be on a par with the current technical level and scientific knowledge. We can therefore expect and demand our system to generate a higher quality in its moulding of the young generation, professionally, scientifically, technically and politically". Nicolae Ceaușescu directly worked for the generalization of ten years of compulsory education, which has to be seen as an important achievement. Education in Romania avails today of over 131,000 classrooms and lecture rooms, 18,000 labs and almost 16,000 workshops. The education network is staffed with 260,000 professors, teachers, school masters, other experts. In the 1965-1966 academic year, the number of children enrolled in kindergartens increased by some 600,000, primary school pupils by almost 400,000, lyceum-goers by 760,000, and the number of high school students by 60,000. Education is completely free and over 70 per cent of the students are grant holders. An important achievement of education in Romania is also the extension and improvement of mother-tongue tuition for the co-existing nationalities: in over 3,000 of the 29,000 school units, teaching goes on today in Magyar, German, Serbian and other languages.

On the initiative of Ceaușescu, there has also been some re-organization in the system to link education more closely to life and to ensure that it contributes more to the process of socialist construction. The stress is on the development of industrial, agricultural and economic education, with an improvement in the vocational schools called upon to ensure the training of skilled workers and experts for various sectors of the national economy and social life. President Ceaușescu stressed that every school should become a productive unit, ensuring proper practical training. Stressing the reason for these measures, he said: "The needs of production and socio-economic development call for the training of experts with high professional and scientific skills and it is only the close correlation of education with research and production that ensures the moulding of such cadres. What we are doing in fact is adjusting to the general tendencies of progress, ensuring the possibility of achieving new successes in understanding the secrets of nature, and placing them at the service of man, his welfare and happiness. This is essential to socialism and to communism!"

As a result of the measures taken by the party in the 1980-1990 decade, 12 years of education is to be provided for all. Also ensured is the improvement of public instruction at all grades with tuition in keeping with the latest developments in contemporary science and culture. The overall task of schools is to ensure, in the 1981-1985 period, properly trained cadres for socio-economic life: i.e. 1,750,000 skilled workers and 300,000 engineers, technicians and foremen.

Nicolae Ceaușescu emphasized the objectives of schooling in terms of its contribution to revolutionary education, urging over 260,000 professors, teachers and instructors who take care of over 5,000,000 children and youth (almost a quarter of the country's population) to dedicate their "full skill, to the noble cause of moulding a young generation to have a wide horizon of knowledge and to be well prepared for work and life, guided by the materialist-dialectical conception of the world and society, and ready to dedicate all their energies to socialist Romania".

As part of the efforts for the continued development of the new, socialist superstructure, Nicolae Ceaușescu pays great attention also to culture, literature and the arts, which he places, along with the educative factors as areas of powerful influence. One of the first meetings he had after his election to head of the party in 1965 was with men of culture. As early as this he advanced directive principles for the activity of all artists.

He stressed that the main source of inspiration for all artists ought to be life, history and the people's aspirations for building a socialist society. "What I said then, referring to Leonardo da Vinci, and the need

to take water from the source, not from the pot," he said at the National Conference of Writers in 1977, remembering that first meeting, "is even more valid today".

"So", he went on, "the answer to my question of 12 years ago can only be this: men of letters should express their own nation's preoccupations, wishes and aspirations for the better; they should depict, in specific and varied forms, the grandeur of their epoch, understanding and presenting the complexity of the social phenomena, and the affirmation of what is new in all domains of activity. Our literature must actively contribute to the moulding of the new man and to the shaping of the human model of the communist system".

"Considering precisely such goals," he said, "the party will not allow under any pretext creations which are inspired from conceptions alien to the working class and socialist ideology. Only art and literature which endorse the positions of the working class, which serve socialism and the nation, in the spirit of the profoundest humanism, can be accepted in Romania".

"You are expected to grasp the gist of people's existence and, understanding its aspirations, efforts and heroic struggle, to present the fresco of socialist Romania. The party is the partisan of unceasing truth, with its lights and shades alike. Do not forget that the mission of our art is to ennoble man, to encourage him towards new grand deeds towards the attainment of the ideals of socialism and communism".

Nicolae Ceaușescu repeatedly explained to the workers of the press, radio and television his personal way of considering their role in society, "The press is an instrument of the party and it should serve the dissemination of the party's policy in all domains of activity". In this spirit the Party's Programme shows that "the journalist, the communist propagandist, should have an advanced conception, and thorough Marxist-Leninist ideological training, in order to correctly understand the revolutionary transformations in the world, to be closely related to the mass of people, serving through their whole activity the interests of the working class, the cause of the party and of socialism and communism".

Ceaușescu's ideas on the process of democratization in culture are that it is a process in which the masses, as main users of spiritual creation, participate directly in improving cultural assets. The purpose of socialism, he stresses, is for more talents to come to the fore from among the working people, who should give expression to people's thoughts, ideals and love of beauty.

At the President's proposal, the Congress of political education and socialist culture decided on the organization of a national cultural and

technical festival called "Song to Romania" and of a mass sports competition called "Dacia". The first festivals confirmed the value of Nicolae Ceaușescu's initiative and his appreciation that such a wide-scale cultural activity fully fits within the process of continuous expansion of socialist democracy.

The Quality of Life

"The policy of the party of socialist construction knows no higher goal than people's welfare and happiness. Everything we do in Romania is meant for man, for raising the general level of civilization in our whole socialist nation".

Nicolae Ceaușescu

He who is familiar with Romanian realities does not need too much time to find that the orientation, endorsed by the Romanian Communist Party, of assigning almost a third of the national income to the "development fund", has ensured the expansion and updating of society's technico-material base and, consequently, the substantive increase of the national income.

The care for ensuring a highest possible national income, as a basis for general welfare, is part and parcel of the effort devoted to raising the people's living standards, "the supreme goal of the party's policy and an ideal written on its banner", as Ceaușescu used to say.

In the 1976-1980 period, the national income was worth 50 billion lei, compared with 7.4 billion lei between 1951 and 1965. In such conditions, the annual growth consumption fund was, in the same period, on average 8 per cent compared with 4.3-6.1 per cent in the 1956-1965 period. It should be mentioned that this growth took place under conditions of a growing population, which stood at 22.5 million in 1980.

A special programme for speeding up the increase in the living standards was endorsed upon Nicolae Ceaușescu's initiative. "Fulfilling the planned economic tasks, we can more than meet the initial provisions for improving people's material and spiritual living conditions", he said. The new element of the steps taken was a greater emphasis on increasing the working people's remuneration and direct income, a closer relation of their earnings to the concrete results won in the economic and social activity. Possibilities are thus provided for every person to handle his incomes as he needs and wishes. Consequently, average monthly remuneration was in 1980 33 per cent bigger than in 1975, and the real average remuneration was 20 per cent bigger, as compared to the 18-20 per cent increase planned by the Eleventh Congress.

With these rises in direct incomes, the state also spent on the

1976-1980 period some 316.6 thousand million lei on meeting the population's social needs, 44.1 per cent more than in the previous five years.

Measures to provide a more rational basis to pensions, in keeping with the socio-economic activity, and a rise in the social insurance pensions were also introduced. There was a 30% increase in the state allowance for children and in grants for mothers with many children, a 30 per cent average rise in the co-operative peasantry's real incomes per active person, and the establishment, for the first time, of a pension system for farmers in the non-co-operativized areas.

A demographic policy to ensure a normal population growth was one of Nicolae Ceaușescu's preoccupations, publicly stated as early as 1965. Consequently, Romania's population recorded a growth of almost three million from 1965, when the first census was taken, after Nicolae Ceaușescu's investiture at the head of the communist party.

From the podium of the World Population Congress, held in Bucharest, Ceaușescu demonstrated that Romania's standpoint, opposed to pessimistic theories on the dangers of population growth in certain zones of the world, is both optimistic and realistic. As a matter of fact, the Programme of the Romanian Communist Party shows that "a steady policy of increasing the birth rate and of aiding children and large families will be applied, so that by 1990 Romania's population may reach at least 25 million inhabitants, and by the year 2000, some 30 million".

Caring for a good supply of necessary products, for the development of trade and public services and for the stability of prices, Nicolae Ceaușescu can be often seen in the commercial centres of the towns or at the inauguration of new shops, checking the market supplies, listening to people speaking of what still has to be done and recommending better measures for meeting their requirements. Such are the signs that the work of socialist and communist construction in Romania has the final end of coping with the needs of the people.

The beginning of the second year of the 1976-1980 period recorded an event which demonstrated the might of socialist society, the viability and resources of the economy and its capability of coping with unforeseen difficulties and ensuring fast rehabilitation. It was a tragic and dramatic event, which highlighted the virtues of those educated in the spirit of humanism, of abnegation and dedication to the homeland and to fellow human beings. We refer to the earthquake of March 4, 1977 which, as is known the world over, although it took its death toll and caused considerable damage, did not upset the economy or the social life of Romania.

Here is what President Nicolae Ceaușescu said about it:
"Standing out above all was the might of our socialist economy."



Nicolae Ceaușescu at age 15



Nicolae Ceaușescu at age 21



Elena Ceaușescu (1949)



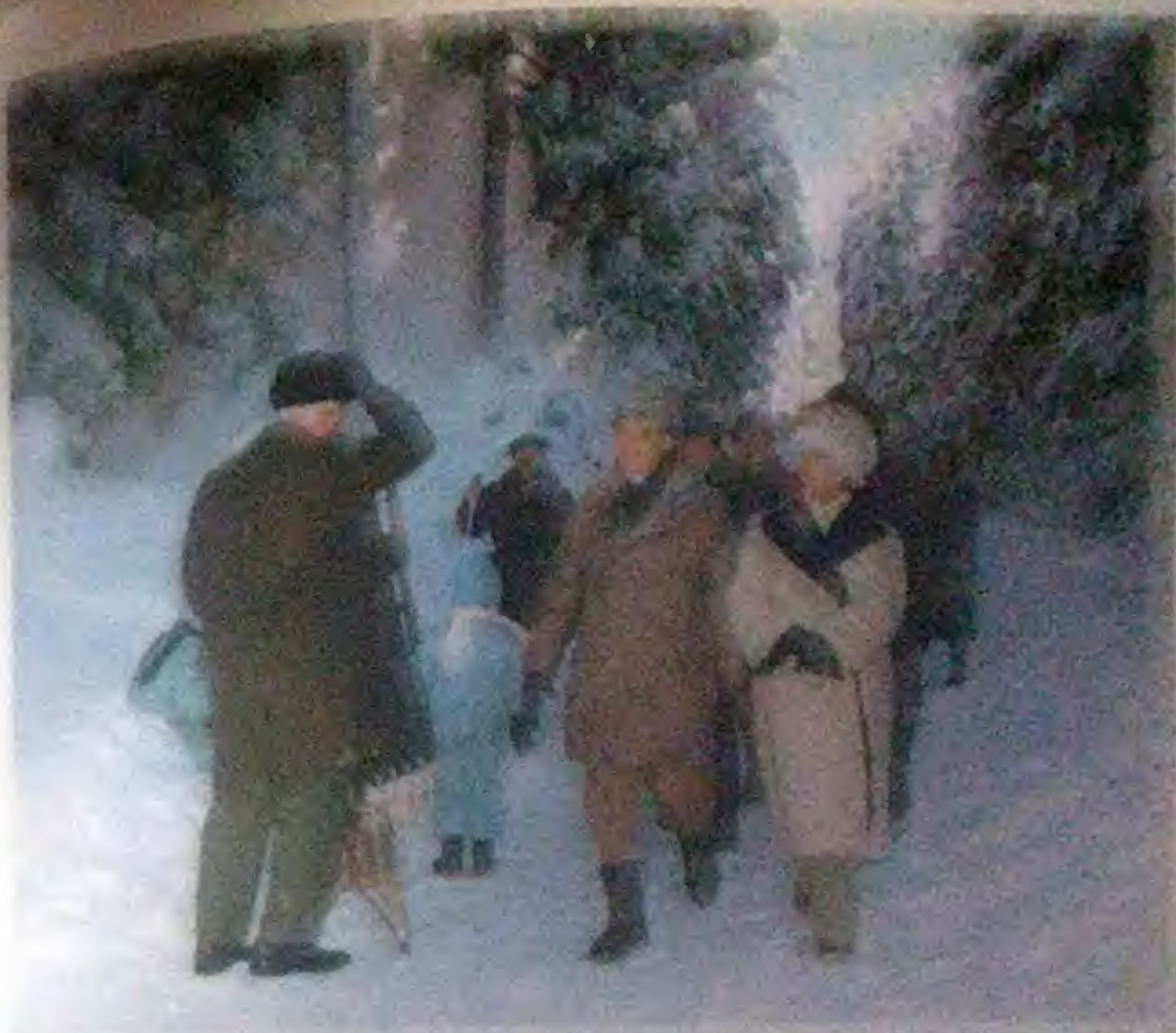
Nicolae Ceaușescu in Tîrgu Jiu jail (1943)



Bălancea jail, where Nicolae Ceaușescu was imprisoned before 1946



Picture taken at the period when Nicolae Ceaușescu took over a responsible office with the army command (1950)



Together with the family.





Together with the family



Together with the family



Together with the family



The balcony of the parent's house



its capability to successfully cope with any hardship, to overcome catastrophe, losses and damage in a short period, without serious disruption, or repercussions on its evolution. This is the result of intensive, high-rate development of the country's productive forces, based on the gains of modern science and technology. It is yet another proof of the virtues of the party and state policy".

Hardships did not spare the Romanian people on other occasions either. "It is known", said the President, "that in the struggle and work for socialist construction, our people have more than once had to cope not only with the backwardness inherited from the old regime, with the opposition of reactionary forces and shortcomings and difficulties of every kind, but also with vicissitudes of nature—hard years of drought, two devastating floods, and now the huge damage caused by the March 4 earthquake".

In the spring of 1977, just as in 1970 and 1975, when floods caused damage to the economy, destroying enterprises, houses, harvests, and killing people, the man heading the party and the country was permanently alert, day and night in the places afflicted, inspiring and mobilizing the party and all people in the application of the party and state leadership's decisions for healing the wounds caused by the catastrophe. In those moments of pain for thousands upon thousands of families, we heard from Nicolae Ceaușescu may be the most humane orders ever uttered in Romania: "People, rescue the people!". . .

"Where there is even the slightest hope, nobody should hesitate to rescue the survivors!"

"Our first priority is to solve the problems regarding the people".

In Nicolae Ceaușescu's thinking, the modern economic conception, based on a realistic, practical spirit, on the sense of the new, on utmost exactingness, on firmness and steadiness in the struggle for promoting Romania among the economically advanced countries, organically blend with the humanistic conception, with the "revolutionary humanism" as termed by Ceaușescu himself. The effort for a strong, efficient economy is not an end in itself; it is only the road to meeting, as far as possible people's requirements, the means of building a superior civilization for the good of all inhabitants,—a civilization of justice and equity, of freedom and dignity.

"The accomplishment of the 1981–1985 five-year plan of economic and social development", says Nicolae Ceaușescu, "will allow for the steady increase in people's material and spiritual welfare, the fundamental goal of our party's policy, the gist of the multilaterally developed socialist society which we successfully build in Romania".

In keeping with the programme-directive, the population's total real incomes will go up by 23–25 per cent in 1985 compared with 1980, with the average real remuneration rising 16–18 per cent. The 1:5.5 ratio

between the highest and lowest income in economy, a ratio which the Bucharest authorities consider to fully accord with the current development stage of Romania. It is therefore planned to be kept for a long time to come. The lowest remuneration will go up from 1,425 lei a month in 1980 to 2,630 lei a month in 1985, besides the child benefit and the other incomes derived from social consumption funds. Also envisaged is the ensuring of a more balanced correlation between the incomes of the working people in towns and those in villages, the peasantry's real incomes scheduled to go up by 20-25 per cent. The nominal pensions of social state insurance will grow by 23 per cent on average, and the state child benefit by 27 per cent. The military and invalid pensions will be increased, just like the pensions of the members of cooperative organizations and of other categories of pensioners. The expenditure financed out of the state budget, as well as out of the income of the enterprises, cooperative and public organizations for the development of education, health protection, social assistance, culture and sports will go up by some 37 per cent by 1985, amounting to 14,200 lei per family. The volume of goods sales, too, will grow at an annual rate of 5.4-6.4 per cent, and the volume of services to the population will grow by over 54 per cent compared with 1980.

Utmost heed is paid to maintaining the prices of consumer goods and the tariffs of services within strictly controlled limits. In this sense, the documents we were kindly supplied with, stipulate an average annual rise of 1-1.2 per cent, correlated with the increase of the population's real incomes. These are measures whose implementation, under conditions of volatile prices in the world market, promises to ensure the necessary economic security.

Likewise, 1,100,000 flats will be built out of the state investments funds in the 1981-1985 period, of which 450,000 are meant for sale to the population, which will increase the country's urban dowry.

The "Ceaușescu Era" thus really appears to be an era of qualitative changes in the Romanian people's life, which, in a relatively short time, have constituted considerable achievements in the cause of "Everything for man's welfare and happiness".

The Party's Role in Society's Democratic Management

"Although, theoretically, we consider that the party will have to disappear in a certain stage of communist development of society, we can state confidently that it will still have long life and activity. Therefore, we should continue to pay due attention to strengthening the party, to raising its ideological and political level, to increasing its organizational force and its unity, in order for it to fulfil its historical mission of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and communism in Romania.

On this basis, we must not consider that the party's organization and activity will remain unchanged. Indeed, since its foundation it has gone through many transformations.

"In the future it will continue to be the vital centre of society and the force that animates the creative energies of masses. We should, however, bear in mind that its functions, its role and forms of organization and activity will be changed in keeping with historical stages of development".

Nicolae Ceaușescu

We must show that, in the context of the conceptions asserting themselves in world communist thinking, Nicolae Ceaușescu's view of the role of the communist party, in the stages that followed the coming to power of the working class, seems to be one of the most original, best argued and most firmly applied. Stressing the role of the party, he takes as a basis, the example it has set since it was established in 1921. "Looking back on the road covered by the party", he said on the 60th anniversary of the party's foundation "on its role in Romania's political life and its activity in strengthening international solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces everywhere, we can proudly say that it has always served the interests of the working class, whatever their nationality.

"In our eventful history, no other political party has ever been so dedicated to the interests of the whole nation, to its welfare and happiness, to the strengthening of Romania's independence and sovereignty".

Since the early days of his election to the head of the party Nicolae Ceaușescu has always objectively reconsidered the history of the revolutionary party, which he considers to be an essential condition of the exact understanding of its historic role and mission. The party's history can thus be considered in a unitary, coherent and true light. Many data and events that had been confused or forged have been elucidated. Wrong ideas, accredited in various periods, have been exposed and new theses articulated.

"History", Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out, "has to show the whole process of revolutionary struggle in its complexity, starting from the scientific analysis of social realities, to present facts, not according to people's subjective wish, or to conjectural political needs, but as they were.

This is the new vision proposed by Ceaușescu: the history of the working class, of the socialist movement and of the communist party has to be presented in the context of the country's general economic and social life, and closely related to the activity of the other revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces that contributed to society's development. It is only in this way that a real, multilateral image of the social life in Romania can be offered; it is only in this way that one can fully understand the revolutionary struggle of the Romanian people for democracy, peace and social progress and the role played by the working class, by its

vanguard party, in the unfolding of political life and in the transformation of society.

Nicolae Ceaușescu maintains that the scientific assessment of socio-political facts and events in their full complexity can only be made relying on dialectical and historical materialism. "The country's entire history", he stresses, "demonstrates that the working people, its revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces, ensured our society's march forward. All important moments in the country's life are linked to this struggle of the masses."

Ceaușescu has also taken account of the role of prominent campaigners. To this end, he pointed out that their activity can be presented and understood correctly only in close relation to the social class they belonged to. It is only this way that the exaggeration or minimizing of their merits can be avoided. It is only when the leaders identify themselves with the masses' ideals, with the nations' interests and when they come to understand the objective requirements of social development, believes Ceaușescu, that they "can fulfil an important role in the organization and leadership of the revolutionary struggle".

These are principles and interpretations concerning the role of the masses and personalities in history that would be reflected in the party's theoretical and practical activity.

"Injustice is not socialist", said Nicolae Ceaușescu. Starting from an objective presentation of the facts of truth and justice, action was initiated for reconsideration of certain moments and deeds from the past. On Nicolae Ceaușescu's recommendations, the records were reopened concerning Lucrețiu Patrașcanu, a leader of the communist party who was sentenced to death. At the same time, a post mortem was carried out on other party activists who suffered from abuses and illegalities perpetrated in the past.

"Analyzing what occurred," Nicolae Ceaușescu said, "it is important to draw proper conclusions and take the necessary organizational and political measures so that such facts may never recur".

Many complicated issues had to be coped with by the party in the period after the war, a period of economic and cultural construction and of radical reorganization. As Nicolae Ceaușescu said, although there were successes in every domain, in some cases, experience was lacking and it was not always possible to take the best measures. A series of measures, viable in other conditions and in other countries, were applied unthinkingly, as early as the period of underground activity, disregarding the concrete realities in Romania. The consequences of this were clearer after the taking over of the power, when the party had to cope with problems for which it was not prepared.

In this connection, Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out: "Our party's

experience shows why it is necessary to pay great heed to understanding the problems of economic and statal construction and of training so we can cope competently with the multiple problems facing us in our capacity as leading force of the new society".

Many know the programme and activity of the Romanian communists, articulated by Nicolae Ceaușescu: "The communists do not have special rights, they do not have any kind of privilege; they have more duties, which they have assumed on their own will, to be in the front ranks of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world, for building socialism and communism". Year by year they improved the framework for the integration of the party into social life and for their direct participation in all activities, devoted to the concrete settlement of problems, and the process of socialist construction. "The party's leading role is no slogan; it depends on how every party member acts at his workplace and on how the committees play their role. It is only the total of these activities that ensures the fulfilment of the party's leading role in all domains".

"The party", said Ceaușescu, "is the nucleus around which the whole of society acts and which emanates energy and light, actuating and ensuring the operation of the whole mechanism of the socialist system", mentioning at the same time that this role is directly conditioned by the political line which the party promotes, by its work style and methods and by its members' political and moral features.

"The party is the people. Its history is the history of the people, its conscience is the conscience of the people"—words often repeated for their expressiveness. Progressing from this, Nicolae Ceaușescu says: "We are fully entitled to say that the party means us, its members, its representatives. It is not worse, or better than we are; its clear-sightedness is the collective clear-sightedness of its members, of its leadership. We are fully entitled today to say that the party is the people represented by its best sons."

Communists, according to Ceaușescu, should be an example of dedication and discipline and the party organizations are called upon to pay the utmost attention to the political profile, and level of ideological training of communists. Party members, stressed Nicolae Ceaușescu, should continuously widen their horizon of general culture and identify with contemporary scientific thinking. Yet to a communist, to a party activist, the mere presence among people is not enough. "In order to manage factories, and institutions, we need technical and professional knowledge, we need to blend political and professional instruction." That was an urge to communists who would have to acquire wisdom and clear-sightedness in all their activity. "The principles of social equity and justice of our ideology", said Ceaușescu, "require communists to steadily cultivate, in all circumstances, the spirit of justice". Every communist

has to have an advanced attitude towards the family, education and faultless behaviour in his private life, throughout his social existence.

Ceaușescu demands strict observance of the principles laid down in the Rules of the Romanian Communist Party, according to which the party's composition should reflect the leading role of the working class in society, the social structure of socialist Romania, as well as the nationalities' structure. The workers' share in the party is about 55 per cent, the peasants', 23 per cent and the intellectuals', 21 per cent. Almost 75 per cent of the party members are in fact from the spheres of material production. The promotion of women, within the party has become a rule of the party work and of the total party membership, almost 29 per cent are women. As regards the national composition, it fully accords with the population's structure: almost 90 per cent are Romanians, some 8 per cent are Magyars, and the remainder are Germans or other nationalities.

A characteristic principle of the work style is the collective leadership at all levels of party activity, most firmly applied starting with the party's leadership. The decisions and measures regarding the party and state activity are analyzed and debated widely in the Permanent Bureau, the Executive Political Committee, in plenary meetings of the party's Central Committee—thus becoming the fruit of collective work and leadership.

In order to explain the mechanism of party and state leadership more clearly, we have recorded a few informative aspects. The highest leading body of the party activity is the Party Congress, convened once in four years. The latest, the 12th Congress, took place in 1979. In between congresses, the Party National Conference takes place as a rule and the latest was held only recently, in mid December 1982. The Party Congress elects the Central Committee, made up of several hundred members, which is the leading body in between congresses and is called three to four times a year. In between the plenary meetings of the Central Committee, the leadership is performed by the Executive Political Committee, made up of several tens of persons, cadres of highest competence both on a party and state line. As a rule, it meets twice a month. The current questions are debated and solved by the Permanent Bureau whose meetings are held weekly. The Secretariat, including the Party's General Secretary and the secretaries of the Central Committee guide and control the fulfilment of the tasks.

We have endeavoured to show how the party and state attributions are blended by the same person who is elected to a party body and to a state executive body alike. The resolutions are made within the party body, after debates by all its members on equal footing, with each and everyone expressing his or her opinion, making use of their political and professional experience and training, which inevitably differ, according to age, profession, job or hierarchic position. The Party's Central Com-

mittee, for instance, comprises, along with party activists, workers and experts, peasants, professors, physicians, young and old alike. All the members of the Central Committee are bound to take action at their place of work in order to accurately fulfil what was decided. The prime minister, through the government, will enforce the necessary package of measures, also issuing the necessary administrative acts. Together with his close associates every minister establishes how to enforce the decisions made, and is responsible for the way he discharges his tasks before the government, on a state line, and, on a party line before the higher leading body—in this case, before the Central Committee. An enterprise's manager will do the same at his echelon. At the level of the administrative-territorial units, the same person performs the highest party and state office. The first secretary of the county party committee, for instance, is responsible for the coordination of the work, unfolded by the party organizations, for the implementation of the decisions made on a party line. At the same time, as a chairman of the executive committee of the people's council, he signs legislative acts and coordinates the whole package of measures that should ensure the fulfilment of the provisions of the socio-economic development plan.

Whenever he referred to the party's role and tasks in the leadership of the activity of socialist construction, Ceaușescu made a point of stressing that the observance and consolidation of inner party democracy was a catalyst of the party. "The essential principle of inner party democracy", he said, "is the active participation of the party members in all party bodies and organizations in decision-making. The party's policy, being the outcome of all its members' work and thought, representing the opinion of the entire party and in accordance with our requirements and realities, depends on the strict observance of the Rules with regard to inner democracy." At the same time, Ceaușescu keeps emphasizing that the successful fulfilment of the major tasks incumbent on the party, demands a permanent strengthening of party discipline. "Party discipline", he says, "is common to the rank and file and to party leaders alike."

With characteristic perseverance, Ceaușescu insists on the party activists having to work for the revolutionary renewal of society, for the application to life of everything that is most advanced in scientific knowledge. His preoccupation is known, for the employment of party criticism and self-criticism as a method of unmasking shortcomings and their causes, of improving the entire activity. "In a socialist society", he says, "the struggle between the old and the new takes on especially the form of criticism and self-criticism. In the socialist construction, criticism and self-criticism make a law of social development, a fundamental factor of getting rid of the shortcomings and of ensuring progress of society as a whole."

Scientific vision and systematic thinking, with well established guide-

lines, come to the fore in this synthesis of ideas regarding the role of the communist party and of its members and activists in building the new society. This conception found expression in the contribution Nicolae Ceaușescu has made to the drafting of the Programme of the Romanian Communist Party for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism. As stressed on various occasions, the Romanian Communist Party had previously established other orientations during its history and, as a whole, they ensured at various stages the unfolding of the revolutionary struggle. But never before has the party been armed with a programme-like document, presenting in a coherent form, an all-embracing conception about the settlement of the fundamental problems of the revolutionary transformation of Romanian society and its position as regards development in the contemporary world. He who studies it attentively finds out that the fundamental, characteristic elements of the programme consist of firm principles and scientific rigour, realism, innovation and a genuine creative, revolutionary spirit. As a matter of fact, these are fundamental features clearly reflecting the style of thought and action characteristic of Nicolae Ceaușescu who drafted the document. When one reads it, one finds out that the programme synthetically presents the requirements of Romania's evolution on the path of multilaterally developed socialist society and communism. It makes a cursory survey of the Romanian people's existence along two millennia, highlights, in the light of dialectical materialism, the popular mass role in Romania's historical development, generalizes theoretically the party's and people's experience in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, and, in doing so, it takes account of the experience of the other socialist countries, aiming at a creative application of the general valid truths, to Romania's specific social and national conditions.

"With good reason", Nicolae Ceaușescu said, "the Programme can be considered as the party's theoretical, ideological and political charter, the primordial document which answers the most complex problems of our people's and party's work and struggle, of the country's future development prospects".

The idea of the unity of the people is to President Ceaușescu runs like a thread throughout his thinking and activity. He has been continuously concerned with finding the fit organizational ingredients for the attainment of this ideal. Quoting Marx, according to whom "the place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, is taken by a society within which everyone's free development is the condition for the free development of all", Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out that the Romanian people's political unity as builder of socialism was the result of a historic process, the natural consequence of revolutionary transfor-

mations that radically changed society's structure, and it relies upon the very socio-economic base of the new system.

As an expression of the unity of all social classes in Romania, which, with the working class at the head, actively participate in the socialist construction, President Ceaușescu's proposal was endorsed for the foundation of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, a permanent, representative political body encompassing the Romanian Communist Party, the leading political force of society and the mass, civic and professional organizations.

Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front at the two congresses held so far.

"We are fully convinced", he said "that the foundation of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front in Romania consecrates an actual reality: the indissoluble unity of all the working people in our homeland, their determination to ensure, under the Romanian Communist party's leadership, a still greater development of this unity and the steady implementation of the party's policy".

Starting in 1980, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front has its own organizations founded at its chairman's proposal. The Socialist Democracy and Unity Organizations, with almost 3,000,000 members, most of them citizens who are not members of the party or of other mass organizations, have their own representatives on all state bodies, including the State Council and the Grand National Assembly. This quite original step enjoyed wide appreciation both at home and abroad.

The foundation of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front's own organizations only promoted to a higher level the Front's activity and enhanced the society's democratic character, amplifying its role in the country's socio-political life.

"These measures", said Nicolae Ceaușescu, "accord with the objective demands of our advance on the road of socialism and communism. We start from the principle that now, and in the future, the growing role of the party as a leading political force of the whole nation, entails its existence being ever more organically blended with the existence of the whole people, its ever closer relation to the wide mass of people".

The Role of Trade Unions in Society

"The trade unions have to ensure all working people's purposeful rallying in the activity for the country's socio-economic development and to act for the strengthening of organized control, performed by the working class, of how the state and party laws and decisions are applied and of the management of all domains of activity. As organizations of the working people, within the division of labour among various bodies of society, the trade unions are bound to pay special heed to the working people's living and working conditions, and to all social prob-

lems, actively participating in the drafting of the necessary laws and decisions for the fulfilment of the programme, endorsed by the 12th congress of the party, with regard to increasing the working people's welfare. They have to contribute to the correct application in every economic unit, of the socialist principles of remuneration, so that every person may be remunerated according to the efforts done. At the same time the trade unions must see to the securing of proper working conditions, in the spirit of the rules set by law, directly participating in the enforcement of the rules of labour protection and safety, the organization of the working people's leisure and medical treatment, the proper running of canteens and workers' hostels and the judicious and equitable assignment of dwellings. They must also ensure fulfilment, by the executives of the ministries, and enterprises, of the programmes of professional training, in harmony with the latest progress in modern science and technology.

Nicolae Ceaușescu

The trade unions are the largest organizations of the working class in Romania. They embrace over 7,000,000 people.

Speaking in 1981 at the Trade Unions Congress, Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out that in defining the role and responsibility of trade unions in the Romanian society, one should start from the rich revolutionary traditions of the working-class movement in Romania, that inaugurated the trade union organization. The purpose of the trade unions, says Nicolae Ceaușescu referring to those traditions, was from the very beginning to rally the nation's forces and make them work for the benefit and for the good of the nation. "The Romanian workers", he said, "thus related, from the very beginning, the cause of their welfare to the cause of the country's general prosperity".

Those were the prerequisites for the role Nicolae Ceaușescu attaches to the trade unions today. "In establishing the objectives and role of the trade unions under the new socio-political conditions," he says, "our party set out from the transformation of the working class from an oppressed class, deprived of productive means, into a leading class of society".

In such conditions, he believes, the role and mission of the trade unions have radically changed: they have now become organizations of owners, producers and users. So, he bestows on them the responsibility of organizing the working class, irrespective of nationality, for the participation in the management of all domains of activity.

The affirmation and recognition of the communist party's leading role in the socialist society, says Nicolae Ceaușescu, do in no way diminish the role of the trade unions or of other mass and public organizations. On the contrary, the party's political action leads, and it should lead, to increasing their role.

What are the concrete responsibilities of the trade unions in the Romanian contemporary society? One is related to the accomplishment of the working class's historic role in governing society. In the organiza-

tion of Romanian society, the trade unions have great responsibility in observing worker democracy, self-management and self-administration of the enterprises and institutions. The trade unions are directly responsible for the organization of the working people's general meetings which must report on the activity of the enterprises' executives and to decide even the dismissal of those who do not discharge their responsibilities, and discuss who are to replace them. Being represented on all collective management bodies, from the enterprise up to the ministry and the government, the trade unions ensure the presence and participation of the working class in the debates and drafting of the measures for the fulfilment of the economic plans. They play a very important role in the management of the whole of socio-economic life, in the working out and carrying through of home and foreign policy.

The main lever used for the quantitative and qualitative growth of production, is the "emulation drive," fully organized by trade unions, which proceeds at all levels, in work collectivities, on a national scale. By this system, material and moral incentives reward the contribution made or the initiative proved, in work. In the productive sectors, they organize professional contests which, besides additional remuneration derived from the sharing of profits, also ensure incomes in the form of bonuses, for innovations and inventions, as well as other advantages, like priority in getting holiday fixtures, trips, and so on.

Thanks to the trade unions' action, the drive for innovation and invention has become a drive of the masses, which is part of the national festival of artistic and technico-scientific creation ("Song to Romania"). This drive encompasses workers and experts of over 11,000 trade unions. In the field of professional training, the trade unions contribute to ways of raising levels of technical and specialist knowledge, professional recycling of the whole working personnel, organizing popular universities, lectures, symposia, displays and exchanges of experience. At the same time, they assist the executives of lyceums and vocational schools in equipping school workshops, and help pupils get assigned to production jobs.

The whole material base of the cultural-educative activities in enterprises and institutions is administered by the trade unions. The Romanian trade unions have now their own network of cultural establishments, comprising 208 worker clubs, 45 cultural institutions and over 3,000 libraries. All 2,600 cultural-scientific institutions existing in the country are organized and sponsored by the trade unions. As many as 4,300 trade union lectorates deal with debates on the latest technical and economic questions. Within the national festival "Song to Romania", the trade unions participate with almost 18,000 artistic groups of various genres, enrolling some 260,000 amateur artists. According to cultural statistics, these groups put on 70,000 shows in clubs, cultural institutions and enterprises in one year alone.

The trade unions now make available to the working people in Romania, completely free of charge, over 4,600 sports grounds in enterprises, institutions, in numerous localities. The workers' cultural centres have special rooms equipped with everything needed for gymnastics, swimming, table tennis, chess, etc. The trade union sports associations and clubs comprise 6,960 sections which coordinate competitive sports, encompassing 131,000 registered participants. Over 900 teams of associations and clubs participate in the national competitions called "Daciada" and more than 4,000 workers are members of the Olympic and national teams.

How are we to understand the Romanian experience regarding the role and attributions of the trade unions? This must be assessed in the light of the democratic framework they instituted and the improvements made by the party, especially in the past fifteen years, in the democratic organization of Romanian society. The foundation of the management councils in all economic and social enterprises and institutions, the institutionalization of the working people's general meetings as collective management bodies, the congresses of working people in industry, agriculture, culture and education, and of the people's councils, the meetings of the national councils and of the People's Councils Legislative Chamber, which take place in between congresses all make for a broad basis of participation of the working people in the debate and settlement of the problems society has to cope with.

"We have", Nicolae Ceaușescu says, "a democratic system which is unique in its kind, infinitely greater than any form of bourgeois democracy, a democratic system relying on socialist ownership and on the means of production, in which the working people decide on the whole home and foreign policy of the country and on their life and future".

And he added:

"We suggest an exchange of experience: to the capitalist countries let them, too, show the extent of working class's participation in running the enterprises and in leadership, with the right to decide on distribution and property, on the country's home and foreign policy—we are ready to accept any verification in this respect.

The gist of democratic governing of society, Ceaușescu argues, does not reside with the existence of a number of political parties, but in ensuring the most adequate bodies and forms within which the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, may state, in an organized manner, their opinion on all problems regarding the country's development.

In the light of the role of trade unions it is interesting to note the answer Nicolae Ceaușescu gave to those who tried to learn his opinion about the events in Poland. The cause of such phenomena, judging by

official Polish information, obviously resides, according to Nicolae Ceaușescu in the mistakes made in maintaining sectors and classes on differing bases and in the party's failure to properly play its role of a leading political force. "We by no means want to interfere in Poland's internal affairs", said Ceaușescu, "but the events would never have been possible if the country's development problems had been solved together with the working class, if proper action had been taken in time vis-a-vis such states of affairs and if a firm stand had been taken regarding the anti-social elements and forces".

As regards the claim for so-called independence of trade unions in a socialist society where the working class is ruling, Nicolae Ceaușescu is even firmer:

"It is known that reactionaries have always acted against the unity of the working class. The slogan of the so-called free trade unions is not new: we had to fight it as early as the time of the bourgeoisie. Free of what? Of the revolutionary conception? Of the struggle against oppression and for social justice? This slogan always served to break the unity of the working class, it served the interests of the bourgeoisie and imperialists. The unity of the working class and of the trade union movement was, and is, a primordial prerequisite for the revolutionary struggle for the triumph of socialist revolution and of the socialist construction of strengthening the independence and sovereignty of any socialist country".

Ceaușescu and the Socialist Democracy

"The socialist democracy we are building in our country, the wide, democratic forms we have adopted, inclusive of the foundation of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, should allow for a permanent contact, a live dialogue with the citizens on all problems regarding the development of our society, to the smallest detail. It is very important that we should debate the major problems of internal and external policies, but it is equally important to debate with the wide masses and rally their efforts for the proper administration and the settlement of the problems in every village, in every street, in every enterprise, in every locality. In the end, the problems regarding working and living conditions are not solved only by making general decisions; they should be expressed and solved through the direct participation of everyone".

Nicolae Ceaușescu

The current development stage of Romanian socialist society is characterized by the powerful affirmation of the Romanian Communist Party's role as a vital centre of the nation. In the context of the deepening of society's democratic government, the party, the representative of the working class, leads, together with the working class, relations with the masses, emphasizing the fact that, on the road of socialism, the modalities of exercising political leadership change. In this respect, the revolution-

ary ideas and experience have been permanently enriched with new theses and elements, stemming from the social practice, from the new realities.

The complexity of the socialist society's directions of progress and its objective tendency to multilaterality, entail the understanding of the political leadership as an action of wide perspective, resulting from an in-depth knowledge of the laws of social development. In this framework, it is precisely the party's activity in the midst of social life, in consultation with the masses, that mirrors the indissoluble link between the enhancement of its leading role and the affirmation of the values of socialist democracy in its direct or representative forms and structures of operation. Such a dynamic, innovating conception, characteristic of the Romanian Communist Party, emanates from the dialectical assessment of the qualitative changes that have come about in Romanian society. Such factors as the marked social homogenization of the working class having the leading role, the general improvement of the masses' level of knowledge and consciousness, the strengthening of the people's unity around the party, the complexity of the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and the requirements of better employment of the material resources and the working people's competence and experience, call for a harmonious blending of unitary management with the masses' increased role in social life.

As seen by the Romanian Communist Party, there is this organic, indissoluble link between the affirmation of its leading role and the active participation of the working class, irrespective of nationality, in leading the socialist society, through every developing stage entailing new forms and methods of work—a daring, realistic approach to problems, free of dogmatism, conservatism, petrification and sectarianism. Hence, the preoccupation for organization and work methods alike, and the various measures meant to actuate socio-economic progress in tune with society's development stage and with the strategic tasks set by the 12th Congress of the Party. Organically integrated in all chains of socio-economic life, the party improves its own methods and forms of work.

Pointing to the dialectical essence of this process and stressing the need for its in-depth study, Nicolae Ceaușescu highlighted at the Second Congress of working people's councils, the necessity to "permanently find new democratic forms of management, to remove everything that is old, that no longer corresponds to the current development requirement".

Experience in the last 15 years shows that the forms and methods of party leadership continually improve the whole social machinery. The Romanian experience shows that in fact the party elaborates the general political line, in the context of deepening the democracy within it and in society in general, based on the principle of democratic

centralism; and it persuades the masses about the virtues of this line. At the same time, the party concretely organizes the activity for the implementation of the political programme. Characteristic of the outlook of the Romanian Communist Party on its political leading role is the understanding of this historical function in the dialectical unity between the elaboration of the general political line, its application and the permanent work of its cadres and members in the midst of the people.

A synthetic image of the democratic forms instituted in Romania at Nicolae Ceaușescu's initiative is telling, we think. Here are the main national, wide-embracing fora: the Congress of working people's councils; the Congress of management councils of the socialist farm units and of all peasantry; the Congress of county people's councils and chairmen of municipal, town and commune people's councils; the all-country Conference of chairmen of people's councils; the Congress of political education and socialist culture.

At the same time permanent bodies were created, with large attributions: the People's Councils Legislative Chamber; the National Council of Working People; the National Council of Agriculture, as well as the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development, a genuine parliament handing economic and social activity in Romania.

The periodical convening of Congresses in various domains is an important way of systematic, in-depth debate of the orientations in the respective sectors of activity. These congresses, with a representative composition, provide the framework for actually increasing the masses' role in the specific historic creation of the epoch—an expression of the people's exercised right to option and deliberation, so that the decision-making may best mirror the will and fundamental interests of the working class, cooperative farmers, intellectuals and all other categories of working people.

This shows obviously the constant orientation towards the capitalization of the double function of socialist democracy, namely the broad debate of the targets to be attained and collective, direct action for their attainment.

In any system, the leading social class exercises the power through a system of specific bodies and instruments, in forms and modalities in tune with its historical role in society. The foundation of socialist democracy is the power belonging to the working class, who have the same position, vis-à-vis national wealth. Such social relations ensure the working people's equality, with regard to the means of production and power, as every citizen has the right to participate in some form in management, in solving the public tasks in all domains of political, economic, social and cultural life.



Young people and children enrolling on New Year's Eve



Disarmament poster



The state's integration into society, the blending of the party, state and civic activities to deepen and improve socialist democracy are safe ways of getting rid of shortcomings in the state bodies' activity and of raising the efficiency of their work.

The Younger Generation

"We know the important role of our young generation who are present in all major areas of Socialist construction and in all sectors of activity, with their characteristic energy and enthusiasm, striving to serve the cause of the party, of the people, and of socialism and communism . . . I urge them to do their utmost to appropriate the latest achievements in science and technology, to learn, in the factories and in the fields, the skills of practical activity, steadily blending education with practice, as this is the only way of becoming well trained and of fulfilling their tasks in production and in the country's economic and social activity. Dear friends, you should do your utmost in order to appropriate the communists' revolutionary conception, the revolutionary spirit of dedication and struggle, in order to ensure the triumph of the grand ideals of socialism and communism. You should always be ready to serve your homeland, up to the ultimate sacrifice, if need be, to serve your people, the party, socialism and communism, to be staunch champions of international friendship and collaboration, of peace!"

Nicolae Ceaușescu

Ceaușescu's outlook on the role of the young generation in Romanian society is marked by a high appreciation of them and of their creative capabilities and moral-political virtues, by his confidence that they will spare no effort, under the party's leadership, for the effectuating of the programme of building a multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania.

In his article entitled "The Youth—the People's Future", Ceaușescu stated: "The youth are the future of the people and all scientists and politicians hopefully turn to them. With their energy and enthusiasm, young people are a creative force which, placed at the service of science and progress, can give valuable assistance in the economic, social, political and scientific development of a nation". This political conviction, subsequently developed into a revolutionary conception about the role of the young generation in Romanian socialist society, relies partly on the fact that the youth always were, in the country's eventful past, on the side of the most advanced forces of society, in the first ranks of the struggle for national and social liberation, for progress and civilization, for their homeland's development and prosperity. Youthfulness has always been characterized by enthusiasm, dedication to work and revolutionary spirit, yet, the epoch inaugurated by the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party—the epoch of the richest achievements, directly linked to the theoretical and practical activity of the party's general secretary—opened wider gates for the

active expression and materialization of these values. Starting from the lessons and conclusions offered by history in general, and by the history of socialist revolution and construction in particular, relying on an in-depth knowledge of the young generation's work and life and aspirations, Nicolae Ceaușescu theoretically expressed the condition of youth in Romanian society: "In our youth lies the best guarantee for our homeland's communist future, for its independence and sovereignty". Substantiating their important role in society Ceaușescu considers the young generation "an active political factor and a remarkable social force of progress, democracy and peace".

If society's creative capability can be assessed according to young people's frames of mind and the consistency of the ideals they adopt and promote, then we should say that present-day Romanian society distinguishes itself by freshness and dynamism, thanks to the president's preoccupations for the young people's active manifestation professionally, politically and spiritually in social life and for making their specific enthusiasm and energy yield fruit.

The importance attached to this is shown in the preoccupation of the party to ensure a congenial framework for their participation. Through their own organizations — the Union of Communist Youth, the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania, the Young Pioneers' Organization, which belong to the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front — and through other democratic structures institutionalized in recent years, like the councils and general meetings of working people, the university councils and senates, etc., young people enjoy every condition of participation in the governing of society, in solving public affairs together with the other working people. The powerful affirmation of the socialist democracy offers the young generation wide opportunities for stating their opinion on all aspects of the party and state's home and international policy, making their contribution, at all echelons of the social mechanism, and making decisions regarding the country's present and future.

The high valuation bestowed on the young generation, the confidence in its capability to carry the torch of progress and socialist civilization, are correlated, in Ceaușescu's view, with the great responsibility of society for the young generation, for the way they are trained and educated for the creditable fulfilment of the ever more diverse and complex tasks entailed by the development of the Romanian socialist society in today's and especially tomorrow's conditions.

Nicolae Ceaușescu drafted a programme for the moulding and multilateral education of the young generation, which meets their aspirations for their creative personalities, and the requirements of the country's harmonious and steady socio-economic development. In the

belief that work should be understood as a necessity, as an honourable duty of every citizen and at the same time as the main means of expression of human personality, Ceaușescu emphasized one of the priorities of his educational strategy: "We must give pride of place to the education of people, of young people in particular, through work and for work".

Ceaușescu pays special heed in his work to the education of youth in the spirit of progressive traditions and of working class struggle and the breeding of determination to ensure the progress of socialist construction and Romania's advance.

The great educative values offered by the people's background of struggle and the progress made in all domains of social activity, considerably enhance the formative capability of the schools responsible for the communist education of the young generation and for inculcating in them a steady patriotic frame of mind.

Stressing the need for young people to be educated in a revolutionary spirit, the party's General Secretary repeatedly indicates the importance of inculcating a revolutionary romanticism in young minds and encourages the youthful characteristics of dreaming about tomorrow and of matching ardour of the spirit with realism of action to make their ideals come true.

The young people's active participation in creative work in every domain, in the life and activity in enterprises, building sites, fields, scientific institutions, schools and faculties, undoubtedly show them to be a generation inspired by ideals of progress and social development.

In the years of socialism, especially after the 9th Congress, the party elaborated a new, original conception about the role, responsibilities and attributions of young people and of their revolutionary organizations, in the work of building the new society, in harmony with the specific realities and requirements of Romania. The broad framework of action provided for the Union of Communist Youth, the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania, the Young Pioneers' Organization and the Homeland's Falcons, find an important place in the party documents and decisions and in work of the party's General Secretary, which defines the main attributions and responsibilities of the young generation. The Romanian Communist Party's conception about youth is the principled and steady orientation towards strengthening the unity of the generations, the dynamic continuity of historical progress, the responsible participation of all young people, irrespective of nationality, together with all the working people, in the homeland's economic, political and social development.

Woman's Role in the Country's Economic and Socio-political Life

"Romania ensures every condition — economic, social and organizational — for the strict observance of the provisions of the country's Constitution which enshrines as fundamental principles of our state policy women's full equality with men in every domain of activity, their active participation in running the state and in the country's whole political and social life.

From Romania's own experience, we know that the women's contribution can be assessed only in the context of a nation's general activity, that women's emancipation entails the providing of conditions for the actual eradication of any discrimination, for their unhampered access to professional training and promotion and for involving them in the drafting and carrying through of the national programmes of economic and social development."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

In the theory and practice of President Nicolae Ceaușescu's work the questions of the social status of women, and their role in society enjoy a rigorously scientific approach, with elucidation of the various aspects related to the efforts for raising the status of women being permanently linked to the fundamental principles that guide the work of building the new system.

Ceaușescu coherently included the multiple problems of the social status of women and of their role in the country's economic, social and political life, among the major preoccupations of party and state policy, conferring on the solutions elaborated in this domain, fully democratic, humanist and revolutionary significance.

Upon his initiative and under his direct guidance the party and state leadership fora made minute and systematic analyses, with respect to the status of women in society and family, followed by the drafting of programmes of measures whose scope of tasks and clear-cut responsibilities for their fulfilment make them unprecedented in the history of socialist revolution and construction. Decisive domains of development have been reconsidered from the perspective of in-depth investigation of historical realities, law-like requirements and tendencies in socialist development; similarly, the problems regarding women's living and working conditions, their level of socio-professional training and integration, the evolution of conceptions and mentalities with respect to women's role in society and family and their place in the system of societal management and organization, would be reconsidered and assessed again in the light of the requirements entailed by the realistic character of their policy.

Ceaușescu inaugurates in this domain too, a new chapter in the theory and practice of socialist construction in Romania. Essentially, his conception starts from qualitative criteria, according to which socialism as a social system is called upon to ensure a new type of

progress, allowing for the plenary affirmation of the principles of freedom and equality to all members of society, men and women alike. The social status of women is considered in the totality of its specific historic conditions, in the dialectics of its evolution, with the degree of women's emancipation being a genuine test of steadiness of the social system's position vis-à-vis the fundamental principles and norms of human freedom and dignity.

Romania's experience corroborates the truth that the overcoming of discrimination of women, the final settlement of the problems of developing a new social status, based on their full equality with men — both in public life and in family — cannot be attained without making radical transformations in the nature of the social system, whereby the whole logic of development is changed. In this respect, Ceaușescu's work stresses that it was precisely the victory of socialist revolution and construction in Romania that provided socio-economic and political conditions for the transformation of people's whole mode of existence, for actually guaranteeing freedom and justice, entrenching the objective necessary framework for the affirmation of new relations among people and between them and society.

The promotion of the status of equal rights for women and men, the securing of propitious material and spiritual conditions for the full implementation of the potential of thinking and creation of the millions of women in society, are not seen by Romania's president as a conjunctural element or an abstract desideratum. According to him, women's enhanced role in the country's social life as a whole, expresses the ideals of social equity and justice, making an inseparable facet and also a confirmation of the virtues of Romania's socio-economic development strategy. In this respect too, Nicolae Ceaușescu brings into bold relief one of the main features of his party's policy, namely the steady promotion of fundamental human rights, in which fit all attributes of women's status of equality. Pointing to the character of a process entailed by the changes in all domains, and especially to the changes in the sphere of social-human relations, Ceaușescu insists on the fact that women's full equality with men does not result spontaneously from the triumph of the new social relations; it is accomplished gradually, in step with the development of the socialist system. Factors of great diversity are closely interrelated in this historical process, involving the political, ideological, economic, juridical and cultural spheres — all means of moulding and educating the members of society.

Consequent to these orientations, the processes of integration of the millions of women in towns and villages into the spheres of social and civic activity, follow an upward course. Greatly significant are the qualitative shifts that have come about in women's socio-professional

integration. The diversification and development of the industrial branches that promote technical progress is matched by a tangible increase in women's integration in professional activities in these branches, a phenomenon of consequence for the spectrum and content of professions exercised by women, for their level of professional training and general culture.

One of the very important domains in which President Ceaușescu's socio-political thinking makes room for the plenary assertion of women's role in society, is their promotion to leading offices at all echelons and in all domains of economic, social and political activity, in keeping with their contribution to the development of material production and spiritual creation and to the building of socialist and communist civilization. As seen by Romania's president, the equality of rights of men and women is also the equality of participation in the running of all domains of activity, a concept that places the phenomenon of women's promotion in the sphere of assets and principles of social equity and justice, guiding the building of socialist and communist civilization in Romania.

Matching word with deed, the communist party provided the necessary conditions for women's plenary participation in political and social life, a framework without which equality would remain a mere desideratum. It is significant that in the Central Committee, the Executive Political Committee, the government, they hold an important share, actively participating in the debate and endorsement of the decisions for the country's destiny. Women comprise 33 per cent of the total number of deputies in the Grand National Assembly, participating in the drafting and endorsement of the country's laws. There is at least one woman among the secretaries of every county, municipal, town and commune party committee and an important number of members of the basic organizations' bureaux and of the party committees are women. On the people's councils — local bodies of state power — 35 per cent of the deputy seats belong to women, so one can say that they genuinely participate in running the affairs of the counties, towns and communes. They have an important role also in running mass and public organizations: 214 women are on the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, over 2,500 are chairwomen of trade union committees, more than 215,000 young women are on the leading bodies of the UCY organizations. This orientation has obviously resulted in a growing number of women holding responsible party and state offices, leading key-sectors of the political, economic and social life of the country—an impressive demonstration of the civic, revolutionary commitment of women in Romania. It should be noted that there is not only a large number of women participating in the elaboration, debate and endorsement of the decisions on the

organization and management of social life, but also that great importance is attached to the special capability and competence of women participating in the country's political life to their dedication and keen awareness of the responsibility they have in discharging the tasks entrusted to them; such features were more than once heartily appreciated by Romania's president.

The efficiency of all efforts deployed by the party and state for enhancing women's role in society is indissolubly linked to the raising of everyone's general level of knowledge and to the activity of the Romanian Communist Party in the field of political-educative work, an activity meant to develop the socialist consciousness of all women, of all working people, to cultivate advanced conceptions and attitudes, based on the principles and rules of socialist equity.

Against the background of the multiple problems of the contemporary world, Nicolae Ceaușescu analyses in the spirit of the materialist-dialectical and historical conception, the role and place of women. According to his outlook, the settlement of all serious issues in the contemporary world is of direct concern to the millions of women the world over. Considering this, he has welcomed and appreciated all international activities devoted to the debate on the status of women, some of them proceeding under Romania's patronage and at her initiative.

The Moulding of the New Man

"The moulding of the new man, the purposeful builder of the social system, is the greatest and most complex task, the loftiest responsibility and the revolutionary duty of honour of our communist party. That is why we should work in an organized manner in this domain too, based on clear, scientific, far-reaching orientations.

"We, as communists, essentially intend to work in harmony with nature, encouraging man's loftiest features, developing his sensibility, his wish for self-improvement extending his knowledge and making his dreams about progress, welfare and happiness come true. In this respect, we also act in the spirit of dialectical materialism. While understanding and controlling the laws of nature, we also help to place them at man's service. Now we want to improve nature's best creation—man, the creator of everything society has!"

Nicolae Ceaușescu

In the period after the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th Congresses of the Romanian Communist Party, simultaneous with an increased preoccupation for the development and improvement of the material base of production, the party laid special stress on the intensification of ideological and political-educative work, whose often repeated purpose was the moulding of a new man, up to the historical age traversed by Romania today.

Ceaușescu was directly involved in the elaboration of the conception about the new man of socialist and communist society, of the ways of educating and moulding him. He considers that political-educative activity should start from the knowledge of past revolutionary struggle. As seen by him, socialist education entails a broad activity of political, ideological persuasion, of moulding the philosophic conception of dialectical and historical materialism, of scientific conception of material character of the surrounding world.

In June 1971, Nicolae Ceaușescu articulated the "Proposals for the improvement of ideological and political-educative activity". Based on them, the whole country widely debated the activity of communist education. The conclusions drawn supplied the structural elements of a special programme to improve ideological activity and raise the general level of knowledge and socialist education of citizens aimed at basing the relations in Romanian society upon the principles of socialist and communist ethics and equity.

Nicolae Ceaușescu pays special heed to the need for improving Marxist thinking, for the creative application of the conceptions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, who pointed out that socialism and communism can only be the outcome of purposeful historical creation of the masses in every country and of application of the general principles and laws to concrete, national specific conditions. Ceaușescu issued a thesis according to which "Marxism-Leninism is a live teaching which gets continuously renewed". The revolutionary character of Marxism, he said, resides precisely in the fact that it is permanently enriched with all scientific conclusions of social development, that it does not emanate immutable theses given once and for ever, but it helps the investigation and understanding of the events in harmony with the new national and historical economic and social conditions.

Nicolae Ceaușescu met intellectuals in the Cluj municipality in 1968. He criticized the theoreticians who, like the famous French king who uttered the expression "l'état c'est moi", claim their right to issue final assessments according to the principle "le marxisme c'est moi". "No, nobody may state 'I am Marxism'", said Nicolae Ceaușescu. Marxism-Leninism is the property of no one; it is a scientific conception and it is only when politicians, scientists and thinkers all analyse the social development relying on this conception, on the ideas of dialectical and historical materialism, that they can find adequate solutions to the problems posed by life. More than ever, Nicolae Ceaușescu said, mankind now needs creative thinking, of people who can judge, contemplate and state their opinion on the new social processes.

Starting from this necessity, he defined graphically the spirit that should guide the understanding of Marxism-Leninism. "To be a true Marxist-Leninist means being a daring and experienced explorer of the new way opened to mankind by socialism and communism, a daring visionary of the morrow, starting from the urgent realities and demands of today, and from the generalized theoretical conclusions of yesterday's and today's experience." This conception comprises basic coordinates, along which proceed in practice the theories of the Romanian Communist Party of enhancing the consciousness of the mass of working people.

"Socialism and communism, which are being built in extremely diverse concrete historical conditions, cannot be accomplished through a panacea, based on a single licence, the way they do it in technology", says Ceaușescu. He therefore stresses that the development of ideological activity, based on a theoretical generalization of the practice of socialist construction in Romania and other countries, is a lofty duty of the whole party.

He cares about the problems of development of socio-political thinking in Romania, of how the party must be helped in running the work of socialist construction. This explains also the analysis he makes of the errors made in this respect. The progressive national and social traditions were underrated at a certain period, which had negative consequences on the political-educative activity. Ceaușescu criticized the stiffness, petrification, formalism and the recourse to administrative measures that replaced the activity of principled persuasion, and so for a long time, as he puts it, "they did not pay due attention to the affirmation in life of the socialist and communist principles, of the socialist ethics and equity in all sectors of activity".

Referring to the concrete objectives to be borne in mind in the domain of ideological activity, he points to the need for permanent investigation of realities and for drawing the proper conclusions from the experience of mankind's socio-economic development, for investigating new phenomena brought about by contemporary progress, multiple implications of present-day technological and scientific revolution.

Theoretical activity, Nicolae Ceaușescu says, should give the party a clear image of society's evolution, should answer the questions posed by social life both at home and internationally; in other words, it should enlighten the path of building the new system. It is only in this way that theory may help the party in the elaboration of its political line, in the crystallization of a clear, scientific conception of the tasks and targets of every developmental stage of the socialist and communist society.

Starting from the premise that the Marxist theory develops in confrontation with the other currents of contemporary thinking, Nicolae

Ceaușescu always requested that his party should participate actively in the international exchange of ideas, and contribute to the investigation and elucidation of contemporary socio-political phenomena. At the same time, he is quite firm in his views concerning the theories alien to Marxist ideology, idealistic, mystical conceptions and currents of ideas which propagate, in some form, the philosophy of the exploiting classes. "Our country", he says, "is resolved to actively participate in the world exchange of spiritual assets, but it is equally resolved to reject and combat most energetically everything that might pollute people's spiritual life."

Nicolae Ceaușescu has attached great importance to the problem of the relation between a socialist society's material base and its superstructure. He has emphasized the role of the material base in the development of social consciousness, stressing also the function of the socialist superstructure which must directly help the development of the new society. In this sense, the decisive role, is to be played by the communist party and the socialist state.

Ceaușescu remains truthful to the Marxist principle according to which the mode of social life determines the mode of thinking of the people, their relations and the level of their consciousness. He stressed more than once the need for continuous improvement in the social framework in which working people in Romania live and assert themselves. At the same time, he was the first to energetically criticize the tendency to adhere to the thesis of consciousness lagging behind material existence. "The deficiencies existing in the ideological, political and cultural-educative activity, the negative phenomena emerging in social life, in the behaviour of some people can be often explained by the thesis about consciousness lagging behind the development of material life", he stressed. "To accept such a justification of our drawbacks means to encourage a passive, defeatist attitude with profoundly negative consequences on society's development."

Nicolae Ceaușescu redeemed to its right place in Marxist thinking, the role of the awareness, demonstrating that it is precisely in the conditions of socialist construction that it knows unprecedented enhancement.

Based on the orientations set by Ceaușescu, the ideological programme of the Romanian Communist Party was elaborated and endorsed. "The gist of revolutionary humanism", Ceaușescu said, "unlike that of bourgeois humanism, which cultivates the egotistic instinct, individualism, and the showing for personal welfare at the expense of social welfare, resides in centering on man the whole concern and activity of society and, at the same time, in establishing harmonious, organic relations between the individual and the

collectivity". Revolutionary humanism, he continued "conceives the affirmation and development of human personality within the whole of society, promoting the rational and generous principle according to which personal happiness cannot be attained by encroaching upon the rights of others to happiness, but by accomplishing the general happiness of the community. This is a superior, most advanced form of humanist thinking, the realistic and not utopian expression of attainment of the ideals of justice and equality on earth!"

The accomplishment of this humanism, he believes, requires efforts from all those active in the political, ideological, cultural-educative fields: this should focus on the activity of the whole mechanism of educative factors of society.

Ideological-educative activity should become a permanent task of the party and of all communists. "There is no exaggeration", mentioned Nicolae Ceaușescu in giving a more precise understanding of the importance of the political-ideological and educative activity, "in saying that the very communist future of our homeland depends on the successful development of this work".

The party has worked for every socialist collectivity to make a principled framework for the working people's ideological and moral moulding. Ceaușescu considers that such collectivities can best mould citizens, young and old alike, developing with them the ability to live and work in a collective spirit, with ardour and responsibility for the accomplishment of the socialist goals.

"The society we are building is the society of working people, it relies directly on all its members' creative work", says Ceaușescu, emphasizing that this is precisely why the work should be understood as a necessity, as every citizen's duty and equally as a chief means of affirmation of human personality. "The old slogan: neither work without bread nor bread without work, should be permanently born in mind by our homeland's children, youth and citizens."

The moulding of the new man, Ceaușescu reminds us, entails the close collaboration of activists and of intellectuals with the people of all social categories, and the development of popular movement in the field of political education and culture. Ceaușescu believes that, as in all sectors of material and spiritual life, the decisive role in the making of the new, revolutionary culture is played by the popular mass, by people's inexhaustible and innovating spirit and success in this respect depends on involving broad forces and on patient and long-standing work. "We should be fully aware of the fact", he said, "that the moulding of the new man, of the human prototype of communism, cannot be accomplished within one or several five-year periods. This is a complex problem of wide scope which takes time and is directly linked to the process of development and modernization of the

productive forces, the improvement of the relations in production and society, and society's evolution. Approaching the moulding of the new man precisely from this angle, we should consider the necessity for a purposeful organization and management of permanent, steady and patient activity to delete from people's minds the remains of the past, the obsolete conceptions, mentalities and customs, and to cultivate a new attitude towards work, life and society".

Ceaușescu is permanently preoccupied with the full affirmation in social life of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, with the achievement of new relations among people, grounded on mutual respect, collaboration and reciprocal aid.

The portrait of the "new man" as drawn by President Ceaușescu is noble, generous and of high moral dignity. Such a man should be a correct, honest, diligent and untiring champion of the cementing of the fraternal friendship among all working people, irrespective of nationality; a steady, dedicated champion of socialist wealth, of the country's integrity, of the people's vital interests, of the cause of socialism. The new man should fight against retrograde mentalities, against individualism and tendencies to subordinate general interests to private, narrow interests. The new man should promote the spirit of justice, respect truth, honesty and modesty, equal relations between men and women, the family and the duty to educate children well; he should resolutely act against inertia, red-tape, conservatism and should promote a critical and self-critical spirit, struggle for the triumph of what is new in every domain, for principled social relations and for the general progress of the society he lives in.

Deciding that the party and Romanian society generally should pass "from talks on the norms of socialist ethics and equity to the organization of life based on these principles", Nicolae Ceaușescu suggested at the 11th party congress the endorsement of a document accounting for a concrete programme of moulding the new man as the party sees it. It was entitled "The Norms of Communists' Work and Life, of Socialist Ethics and Equity".

Chapter 3

The Man, the Leader Permanently in Contact with the Party, with the People, with the Country

Those who know Romania, will know that in the "Ceaușescu years", a new style of work has been inaugurated in the life of the party and the state. It is characterized by the affirmation of the principle of collective leadership in all domains of activity—the involvement of the largest possible number of people in decision-making and in the implementation of Romanian home and foreign policy.

The understanding of this truth is helped by a knowledge of the work style of the party and state leader, namely his close contact with the Romanian people, his direct acquaintance with realities and his belief in the need for involving citizens in the decisions and measures regarding the country's socio-economic development and in the whole activity of the party and state.

He has made it a general rule to be in constant touch with life in the factories, fields, institutes and schools and to generate open consultation in the democratic climate of work of the party and state active; such direct dialogues in towns and villages precede important decisions of the party, meetings, congresses and national conferences. This is a dynamic and fresh style of leadership.

"We, to whom all the Romanian people have entrusted various party and state responsibilities, have the task to work so as to meet their aspirations, so that our descendants may say tomorrow: our forerunners knew how to fulfil their duty to the people", Ceaușescu said.

He is certainly an example of this duty. Since 1965, when he was elected at the head of the communist party, together with members of the party and state leadership, he made almost 500 working visits in the capital and in all counties. A statistic supplied by the Romanian authorities shows that in the years since he has been at the helm of Romania, he has made visits to almost 1,700 economic and social

units—almost half of which are industrial enterprises, over 300 farm units more than 100 building sites, almost 300 socio-cultural and learning establishments, 80 scientific research and design institutes and over 100 economic exhibitions, arts shows or commercial fairs. In addition, in these years he attended almost 180 congresses, conferences, meetings and working parties at a national level, which were participated in by executives and working people in all domains of activity.

There is virtually no locality of the country, no major economic, scientific school or cultural unit which Nicolae Ceaușescu has not known directly. The politician's activity thus became a point of reference for the entire work of leadership, in all echelons of party and state bodies. Advised and guided by Ceaușescu, the party and state activists understood that they were dutifully bound to take care of developing all regions of the country, that they ought to consider this in their entire activity, and adjust their work programme, and methods of organizational and educative activity to it.

Nicolae Ceaușescu says that there is no better method of solving the problems than to rally the people around the party and deliberate with them. "You who make the party active, when you have to solve major or minor issues, before making a decision must consult the working people in various categories, deliberate with them and take action only after that, you will thus have the guarantee that the endorsed measures are as close as possible to the needs. At the same time, you will thus be sure that these measures will be understood by the working people and that they will campaign for their implementation."

In the spirit of collective work and leadership, Nicolae Ceaușescu initiated the method of conferences by domains of activity, to analyse the work and establish long-term programmes. His permanent dialogue with the makers of material and spiritual assets has resulted in an improvement of the whole party's work style, pursuing higher efficiency and being characterized by a tighter relationship with the people and a better knowledge of realities.

A lot is said and with great interest, about Nicolae Ceaușescu as a political leader; his activity at home and abroad is followed with keen attention and his ideas are quoted.

But what do we know about Ceaușescu as a man, about his family, about him when he is not on official duty? Going back to his biography, we should mention that he was the third of ten brothers and sisters. Nine of them are still alive: Niculina, who became a worker in a light industry factory; Elena, whose name is linked to the education of the children in Scornicești and to their training for life and work, at the school in the native village; Maria, who worked in a machine-building enterprise; Ilie, a doctor in historical sciences, a famous name in scientific research into the military domain; Ion, a doctor in agricultural

sciences, who has been working for many years in the organization of activity in agriculture; Florea, who is on the editorial staff of "Scinteia", the most important Romanian daily newspaper, and has written several books; Marin who has been working for some time in foreign trade, Nicolae, who works for the Ministry of the Interior.

Elena and Nicolae Ceaușescu have three children: Valentin, a doctor physicist, works at the Romanian Centre of Atomic Physics; Zoe, who graduated from the Faculty of Mathematics, is a doctor scientist and works for a Bucharest research institute; Nicu, who is a graduate of Bucharest University and for some years has been performing leading offices in the youth and students' movement and is now President of the International Youth Year sponsored by the United Nations.

The press in various countries shows particular interest in Mr Ceaușescu's family. Anyone who looks into the biographic data of the persons close to Mr Ceaușescu will see how simple and normal things are: everyone has found a way in life according to his or her training, skills and professional experience. Some newsmen delight in finding out that a person newly appointed or elected to an important leading office is a relative of the head of state and accredit untrue data, circulating incorrect information, or malevolent interpretations. Bucharest makes no secret of their politicians' biographies and whoever the politician is, he or she may accede to a certain office only according to the results of his or her work.

"I would like to ask you", a journalist from abroad asked the Romanian Head of State, "what is the role of Mme Elena Ceaușescu, who is not only your wife, but also a person with a political function: she is First Deputy Prime Minister?"

"I will answer you, starting with a more general presentation of the mechanism of societal government", began Mr Ceaușescu. "A principle of collective leadership operates in the Romanian socialist society. In the deliberative bodies, the cadre and party and state, activists participate in decision-making along with the wide mass of working people, as this is one of the fundamental characteristics of socialist democracy in Romania. We have such bodies from enterprises, economic and social units, in which all people, from workers upwards, operate. All of them work in a collective manner, make collective decisions on all problems. The government operates upon the principle of collective leadership and in the party, in between congresses, the Central Committee and the Executive Political Committee are the bodies that decide on all problems regarding the country's internal development and its foreign policy alike. In this framework, just like the other members of the government, Elena Ceaușescu contributes to solving the questions of our society's development."

President Ceaușescu was asked about what he does in his spare time. "To speak about what a hard-working person does in his spare time means that the person is really supposed to have spare time", said Mr. Ceaușescu. "Of course, there are many preoccupations in society, with family, studies, theatre or cinema and recreational activities like sports and hunting. If I had enough time to spare I should be interested in all these and I really try to find such time."

The fact is that this man, who works 12 hours a day, who comes to the office with faultless punctuality, who observes to the minute the schedule of every activity he participates in, does manage to find time also for rest and leisure. He walks a lot and, at the age of 65, plays volleyball, he is fond of chess and hunting. He also manages to fit in fruit-tree and vine-growing and vegetable gardening.

Another newsman put his question on this theme like this:

"The Press in Romania keeps itself busy with reporting your public activity. I wonder if you can also have a private life. What do you do with your little spare time?"

And here is the answer:

"I don't think I get your meaning of private life and political activity, since there has been close unity between these two facets ever since the beginning of my revolutionary activity—and I think there still is. To work in the interests of socio-economic development, to ensure every citizen with a free and happy life, in the interests of building socialism, international peace and collaboration, is an inseparable preoccupation of both private and political life. I could say that these two facets blend very well and fully accord with the preoccupations for contributing to the accomplishment of the programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania. I have time enough to enjoy, just like all citizens of the country, the blessings of socialist construction."

This is the party and state leader and the man—Ceaușescu.

Chapter 4

A Champion of Peace, of Collaboration and Understanding

International Collaboration

"Our country attaches much importance to her relations with all states on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the domestic affairs of others, renunciation of force and of the threat of force—principles enjoying wide acknowledgement in the world arena, as the only ones apt to make the foundation for development of fruitful collaboration among nations and for a climate of peace and international security. We are resolved to take the firmest action in the future for the promotion of these principles in the relations between all states of the world."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

Nicolae Ceaușescu has been leading the Romanian Communist Party for nearly two decades. This period has meant not only a dynamism in the country's economic and social development, but also an unprecedented assertion of Romania in the world arena.

We can assert, without exaggeration, that over this very short period Nicolae Ceaușescu has succeeded in impressing a new orientation on Romania's foreign policy, bringing the country into step with the great contemporary problems, and the efforts for social progress, collaboration and peace.

The fact that the "Romania—Ceaușescu" formula can be heard throughout world centres, today is a consequence of socialist Romania having asserted herself as a constructive presence with regard to the major questions posed in international politics.

The realism of Romania's foreign policy—like that of her domestic policy—is evident. It is founded on the conception of scientific socialism, on the analysis of the processes occurring throughout the world, and the great changes in the balance of forces. It meets the aspirations of the Romanian people for peace and progress, aspirations shared by the other peoples of the world wishing to live and collaborate

in a climate of confidence, co-operation and complete international security.

The stance and foreign activity of socialist Romania—being that of her president—can be recorded as a widely appreciated contribution to the cause of peace and collaboration among peoples of the world today. It has been manifest in overcoming the difficult moments of tension emerging in international relations and in finding just, reasonable solutions to the complex problems of the contemporary world. Thanks to her policy, Romania has placed herself in the eye of the world as a peace-loving and progressive country, as an active force in the struggle for building a better, just world. This policy has helped the Romanian people to make friends in all continents.

Let us, once again, refer to several data which we view as particularly significant since they reveal the dimensions of Romania's presence in the world as a result of the new spirit, clear-sightedness and courage with which Nicolae Ceaușescu has tackled the issues of contemporary international life.

At present Romania has diplomatic relations with as many as 137 states (compared with 68 in 1965), economic relations with 143 countries (compared with 98 in 1965) and cultural relations with 140 (compared with 24 in 1965). Romania is a member of approximately 80 international governmental organizations and participates in the activities of over 700 non-governmental organizations.

Her total foreign trade is eight times what it was in 1965. The proportion of machinery, equipment and means of transport in the Romanian export trade has gone up from 18.8% (1965) to over 30% (1980); Romania's foreign trade with the socialist countries has gone up by over 70% between 1976 and 1980, representing nearly half of the total of her economic trade. She takes part in more than 50 multilateral conventions for specialization and cooperation, set up on a CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) line; her economic exchanges with developing countries have doubled over the last five years; participation in the building of economic and social units numbering over 130; the number of joint societies for collaboration between Romania and the developing countries stands at approximately 30; some 20,000 people have come from developing countries to study in Romania; over 15,000 experts give technical assistance in 60 developing states; the developed capitalist states are included in about 30% of Romania's economic exchanges; Romania has started nearly 100 joint ventures with the economic organizations of signatories to the Helsinki Final Act; as many as 40 joint societies for production and sales have been set up in cooperation with partners in western countries; and Romania has established agreements of collaboration with the European Economic Community, meant to

stimulate the development and diversification of cooperation between herself and EEC members.

The Romanian Communist Party has developed relations of collaboration and solidarity with 77 communist and workers' parties, 53 socialist and social-democratic parties and 66 other ruling parties, political forces, national liberation movements and organizations. Nicolae Ceaușescu has paid 98 official visits to countries in all continents and as many as 107 top-level visits have been hosted by Romania. During the summit interviews 20 treaties of friendship and collaboration have been signed, 37 joint solemn declarations and 50 joint declarations.

Reading such statistical data is enough to understand the effort made by the Romanian head of state for the promotion of a policy of great international vocation. The results of this activity clearly show the relationship between the underlying principles and the perseverance in implementing them.

Although the Romanians and the British have developed along different lines, their paths have crossed on many occasions. They were side by side during World War I. After the August 1944 insurrection, when Romania joined the great anti-Hitler coalition, they met again in the fight to crush the common enemy, fascism, until the final victory over Hitler's Germany.

Since then, Anglo-Romanian relations have been uninterrupted, developing mainly under the circumstances created in Europe. Where a new spirit of understanding and a need for peaceful coexistence among states belonging to different social systems have been manifest. In 1963 the diplomatic offices of the two countries were promoted to embassies.

A contribution was made to the development of good friendly relations, by contacts and exchanges at various levels. In June 1975 President Nicolae Ceaușescu paid a short visit to London, and in September, the same year, the British prime minister visited Romania.

An important moment in the evolution of the Anglo-Romanian collaboration was marked by the state visit to Great Britain by Nicolae Ceaușescu at the invitation of Queen Elizabeth II, an act that was to open new prospects for bilateral relations, in tune with the interests of the two peoples and with the desiderata of peace, security and international cooperation. "We are convinced"—Nicolae Ceaușescu said at the time—"that the multilateral development between Romania and Great Britain, based on fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the domestic affairs of others and mutual advantage [principals mentioned in the Anglo-Romanian Joint Declaration signed in 1975] meets to the full the interests of our peoples and will be remembered as a major

contribution to the cause of security and cooperation on the European continent and throughout the world.

In the spirit of decisions adopted at summit level, in recent years, the two countries have signed many agreements of collaboration in political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields. As a whole they offer an adequate framework for amplification and wide diversification, multilaterally, of Anglo-Romanian relations.

Particularly significant is the special attention paid to cooperation in production and in setting up joint societies, conditions now existing for trade exchanges to amount in 1985, to an excess of the planned one billion pound sterling figure.

The World Balance of Power

"At present the international scene is one of a particularly complex evolution. On the one hand imperialist policies of force and dictatorship, the preservation and redivision of zones of influence and an intensifying arms race continue and on the other there is an even stronger assertion of the peoples' will to promote a new policy of equality and respect of national independence and to develop freely, in a climate of collaboration, security and peace."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

"In our international policy"—Nicolae Ceaușescu has often said—"we set out from the great national and social revolutionary changes, from the mutations that have occurred in the world balance of power."

In the opinion of the Romanian president, starting from a materialist-dialectical and historic analysis of social development, two diametrically opposed tendencies have emerged in international life, in recent years. First a tendency towards preservation of the spheres of influence and domination and towards their redivision, has been manifest on the one hand. On the other, there has been a tendency to end the imperialist policies of force, dictatorship and spheres of influence and to ensure the independent assertion of all the nations of the world for détente and peace.

He considers that the growing economic, oil and financial crisis has worsened the social and political crisis in the capitalist world; also, new contradictions among various states and groups of states have emerged, leading to a worsening of the existing conflicts and the emergence of new ones in various zones of the world and to more tension and instability in international life.

"The deepening economic and social crisis", Ceaușescu notes, "triggers a curbing rate of productive investments and of funds allotted for the development of agriculture simultaneous with a high-rate growth in military spending."

This is an unnatural reality which the Romanian head of state and party incessantly emphasises in order to reach due conclusions. The growth of the national income for many states is smaller than the annual growth of the spending on arming. Due to inflation, the life conditions of the masses of working people become worse and worse, unemployment grows higher and the income of monopolies and multinational societies increase.

Nicolae Ceaușescu views this international situation with great concern, particularly as the most optimistic economists are apprehensive about the prospects for economic recovery.

He says: "It is obvious that the only way out of the major difficulties of the world economic crisis is the firm promotion of an economic policy based on a radical alteration of the relationship between the expenditure on armament, on using national incomes for the improvement of material and spiritual standards. This is an objective condition for ensuring the progress of human civilization and for solving the grave economic and social problems that face the contemporary world."

According to an analysis made by Nicolae Ceaușescu, in recent years we have also witnessed an intensification of the struggle waged by progressive forces against imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policies and we have seen the successes of national liberation movements who aim to safeguard and consolidate their independence. In this context he draws attention to the particularly positive influence exerted by socialist countries and by newly independent states—developing countries that have embarked on the road to self-dependent economic, social and political assertion. "More and more people"—he says—"are seeking to organise society upon socialist principles, as the only way to eradicate exploitation and oppression, to realize their aspirations for freedom and welfare and social and national justice. This proves the power inherent in the ideas of socialism and the growing influence and prestige of socialism in the world."

An in-depth study of the continuously changing world scene, as shown in the thinking of the Romanian president, leads to the conclusion that the struggle between the two diametrically opposed tendencies will be a further characteristic of the political situation in the world arena, that the present tendencies towards consolidation and division of the spheres of influence will persist and even grow, one of the reasons being the multiplication, of late, of statements by leading circles of various states in relation to the military preparations for maintaining or consolidating their influence in certain zones of the world.

The diagnosis Nicolae Ceaușescu makes about the tendencies of domination are of considerable interest. "Life proves", he explains, "that in order to exert the policy of domination and oppression, use is

being made both of economic and military means. No doubt, both endanger the cause of independence and peace, and need be firmly rejected. Yet at present, the main danger is the military way, and it is against this that all forces must be united, in order to ensure national independence, the promotion of new international relations based on equal rights, and the prevention of new wars."

In the face of the present international crisis that can only be considered as very grave, one question emerges: is Nicolae Ceaușescu pessimistic? An answer can be found which proves the contrary:

"Although the international political situation is quite complex and characterized by strong contradictions," he said, "one can assert the assurance that there are forces that, acting in unity, can prevent war, can ensure a policy of independence and détente, and a lasting peace throughout the world."

Nicolae Ceaușescu saluted, from the rostrum of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the steps that had been taken by a policy of détente and peace, characterizing them as "of special importance". Among them he considered the Helsinki Conference for European Security "an event of historic importance that has proved there is a possibility to reach agreements and understandings when the interests of each and every people, of progress and peace are the focal point." He further added that certain conflicts had been solved by way of negotiations and that:

"This proved strongly the fact that only peaceful means can ensure solutions to international litigious issues, however complex they may be, all military actions being apt only to complicate matters further."

With these realities in mind, President Nicolae Ceaușescu reaches the conclusion that everything needs to be done for the rejection of policies of force, of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. Similarly, an end must be put to imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination, and respect for national independence and sovereignty, by collaboration and to mutual advantage should be promoted.

"The Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Republic of Romania", Ceaușescu says, "are committed to take action—just as before—with their whole might, alongside all socialist countries and the developing and non-aligned countries, to help develop new and democratic policies and to strengthen their solidarity."

To this end he himself has paid numerous visits to these countries and there have been many interviews and contacts at party and state levels that have contributed to the expansion of the multilateral collaboration. Romania gives pride of place to the strengthening of her relations with her neighbouring socialist countries and one must mention the special importance Romania attaches to her relations with

the Soviet Union. She has also developed her relations with all the other socialist countries of Europe, and has taken steps to do so with those in Asia and Latin America. At the same time she actively contributes to the improvement of collaboration among the countries of the communist bloc, C.M.E.A. (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) in tune with the principles of equality and mutual advantage and to the end of developing each national economy concerned.

Special attention is also paid to the members of the Warsaw Treaty, with regard to military co-operation and with the aim of defence against imperialist aggression, and the promotion of détente and peace. At the same time, however, Romania remains a champion of dismantlement of the existing military blocs.

A realist and firmly convinced that today socialism is an outstanding force in the world, Ceaușescu proves to be watching closely the evolution of relations among the socialist countries:

"Taking into account the existence of certain divergencies, contradictions and differences of opinion between the socialist countries," he says, "the Romanian Communist Party and socialist Romania believe that unity and solidarity between the socialist countries can be achieved through the principles of scientific socialism, equality and mutual respect."

With this in mind, he welcomed the opening of the Soviet-Chinese talks, which he viewed as very important, expressing his hope that eventually they will be crowned by success and result in an overcoming of differences, in a strengthening of understanding and collaboration. It is in the same spirit that he voiced his opinion on the problems between the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, saying openly that they need be solved exclusively by way of negotiations, since there is a need to avoid further military confrontation which would be counter-productive to the general interests of socialism and to the international situation in general.

In Nicolae Ceaușescu's opinion, each country should declare solemnly that it would never resort to military action or interfere in the domestic affairs of the others. "The interests of each socialist country, of the forces of socialism in general," he says, "require resolute action for a stronger development of their economic, technical, scientific and cultural solidarity." He continues:

"Given the complex international circumstances of our time this would be of great political importance and would result in an enhancement of the prestige enjoyed by the socialist countries throughout the world, in an upgrading of their influence and of socialism in general."

Against this principled background, Nicolae Ceaușescu has declared the need for the right of each party and of each socialist country to choose its own line of socialist and communist development. The words he uttered on August 21, 1968, during the events in Czechoslovakia, are often quoted. "The problem of choosing the ways of socialist construction is a problem of each party, each state, each people. Nobody may pretend to advise or show the way socialism has to be built in another country. . . . In the present world, when people rise in arms to safeguard their national independence to achieve equal rights it is inconceivable that a socialist state should threaten the freedom and independence of another state. There is no justification whatsoever in the idea of military intervention in the affairs of a socialist, fraternal state."

Such interventions cannot have but heavy consequences for the unity of the socialist system and for the international communist movement and the stance of Nicolae Ceaușescu is still firm on this line today. "During certain interviews I was asked", he said, "if Romania considered giving up her support to these principles. We believe that these principles mean to human society today the same as water and air. We cannot give up these principles because they constitute our free and independent lives and that of all the nations of the world."

Talking about the developments in Kampuchea, during Prince Norodom Sihanouk's visit to Bucharest, the Romanian head of state made these assertions:

"Once again the Kampuchean people are in a difficult situation. As their friends we wish to express again our solidarity with them and the wish that they might regain their full independence and dedicate their efforts to economic and social development and welfare whilst deciding by themselves the way to achieve this.

"We believe that at present everything must be done to achieve national reconciliation among all the political and social forces that seek the independence of the Kampuchean people and the observance of their right to free development. Foreign troops must withdraw from Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people must be left to solve their own domestic problems."

The prestige enjoyed by Romania throughout the world derives obviously, to a large extent, from the perseverance and tenacity of Nicolae Ceaușescu in applying these principles in practice.

He is known and appreciated as a good friend of those who have abolished the yoke of colonial domination and stepped onto the road of free and independent development. This can be understood by watching consistent policies promoted by Romania for strengthening the contacts with the newly independent states and with developing countries everywhere. In this respect, a large number of the countries

president Ceaușescu has visited are developing ones and many leaders of those states have visited Romania.

Romania has become a member of the "Group of 77", intensifying her solidarity and co-operation with the countries of that group. She is deeply concerned with the eradication of under-development and the engineering of a new international economic order. Important agreements for political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific collaboration with these countries have been signed. "We believe that the best form of help to the developing countries is the promotion of co-operation in economy and production", said Ceaușescu, and the facts are there to be seen: the value of trade exchanges with these developing countries, in industry, agriculture, science and technology, has gone up each year.

At the same time, Romania does not forget that the world is divided into countries of different social systems and aware that this situation will keep unchanged for a long time, she acts in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and has expanded her economic, technical, scientific and cultural relations with the developed capitalist countries. Economic Relations have been developed for example, with the Common Market countries, and collaboration exists with the non-aligned and neutral countries as well as those of North and Central America.

Peace

"In her international activity Romania sets out from the need for the promotion of a firm policy of peace and collaboration, from the belief that it is only in peace, security and collaboration that the Romanian people, as all people in the world, can focus their forces entirely on ensuring material and spiritual progress and on improving standards of living."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

President Ceaușescu firmly believes that in the present international climate particularly complex problems exist, all conflict can only result in a tensioning of the general political atmosphere, and endanger international peace and security. That is why everything must be done to solve conflicts by means of negotiation only.

In Nicolae Ceaușescu's vision this desideratum can be achieved through observance of the unanimously acknowledged norms of international law, through abstention and moderation, through renunciation of all action that could lead to tension.

We feel the urge to stress the firmness of President Ceaușescu's views with regard to the conflict in the Middle East.

He said recently: "Romania fully recognises and has declared the need for a negotiated settlement in the Middle East and for the attainment of a global, just and lasting peace, ensuring the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied after the 1967

went a solution to the Palestinian issue through the setting up of an independent Palestinian state, and peaceful coexistence of all the states in the zone. We have condemned the aggressive Israeli actions in Lebanon, the massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps and think it is high time Israel withdrew her troops. There is room in the Middle East for an independent Palestinian state, as well as the state of Israel and an international conference should actively participate. We, the peoples in the Balkans given our vicinity to the Middle East, are vitally interested in achieving, on these grounds, a global, lasting and just peace in that region."

Actually, as early as the outbreak of the conflict, Nicolae Ceausescu spoke out for avoidance of armed confrontation, since when, at many public gatherings or in official documents signed with or sent to other states, Romania has militated firmly for an end to the conflict. Nicolae Ceausescu has visited many Arab countries, meeting several times heads of state of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Syrian Arab Republic, and leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as Israel. The constructive efforts made by Romania's president for establishing peace in the Middle East have been widely acknowledged and appreciated and his suggestions viewed as a possible way to peace.

In his opinion the United Nations Organization should play a more active part in solving this conflict. To this end it would be of special importance to organize, under UN sponsorship, an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO and the co-chairman of the Geneva conference — The Soviet Union and the United States of America.

Highly attached to the ideals of freedom and independence, Romania supports actively the struggle for national liberation waged by the oppressed peoples, the end of colonialism and neocolonialism, racial and apartheid policies, all other forms of foreign domination. While visiting a large number of countries in Africa, Asia and America, Ceausescu strongly expressed Romania's stance on these issues and material, moral and diplomatic support to the national liberation movements has been granted by Romania — she received appreciation and thanks for her support, for the achievement of the people of Zimbabwe and is consistent in her demands for a settlement of the Namibian issue and for the problems of the people in South Africa in gaining independence and the abolition of racist and apartheid policies.

Nicolae Ceausescu has made public more than once his country's stand on the avoidance of all states of tension and armed confrontation among the states of Africa and on the strengthening of African unity. He considers this to be a fundamental condition for ensuring the

political climate needed for concentrating forces towards free, self dependent progress of the peoples in that part of the world.

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, says Nicolae Ceausescu, "have left unsolved many complicated issues on the African continent. In our capacity as friends of the African peoples we declare most firmly that force must not be used in an attempt to solve these issues since this can only benefit the imperialist powers and generate new conflicts and states of tension. Everything necessary must be done to settle differences through peaceful, political negotiations direct with the countries concerned, based on full respect for freedom and independence."

Furthermore, he reminds us that the fight against imperialism has not ceased and that it is strongly manifest in the efforts made by people to become full masters of their national riches, to gain complete economic autonomy, and to develop independently on the path of economic and social progress. Consolidation of national independence, the building of a strong national economy, the development of industry, apt to ensure a wide capitalization of material and human resources the organization of modern farm production are all of primordial importance for the newly independent states, and essential for ensuring their true independence and sovereignty.

These are the views behind Romania's entire activity of support for the efforts made by developing countries.

Romania's proposals and initiatives on the implementation of general disarmament and of nuclear disarmament in particular, are known and widely acknowledged internationally. On many occasions Nicolae Ceausescu announced his views on this issue and on his initiative Romania put forward at the UN and in other international fora, a coherent set of concrete proposals.

Laying stress on the huge proportions reached by the arms race today, Nicolae Ceausescu has often pointed out the severe destructive potential of this.

The nuclear arsenals of Europe alone, which he refers to as "a huge danger", amount to approximately 50,000,000 kilotons, enough to kill each inhabitant of the continent 114,000 times. The continent hosts nearly 75,000 tanks and 24,000 fighter planes, and European ports harbour as many as 4,500 warships. As for the world at large, some 40,000 to 50,000 nuclear weapons exist at present, and for each human being there are at least four tons of conventional explosive substances at a time when military spending amounts to nearly 1,000,000 dollars each second, reaching the fantastic global figure of 600 billion dollars.

"Much has been discussed", President Ceausescu said, "about the fact that security depends on a balance of arms in the world. Of course, militarily speaking, a balance must be ensured, to prevent one state or

group of states have coming technological advantages. Yet the difficult thing to understand is the possibility of achieving such a military balance through a continuous acceleration of the arms race. Such a balance resulting from intensification of armaments inevitably leads to a growing danger of new conflicts, of a new devastating world war. That is why it is much more logical and natural to take action for achieving not a balance but by increasing arms but by reducing them, by firm military treaties and armaments beginning with nuclear disarmament, towards peaceful disarmament, beginning with nuclear disarmament, which alone can liberate the world from its heavy burden and threatening danger.

It is widely acknowledged that spending up the arms race exerts a negative influence on standards of living and hinders the progress and welfare of mankind. This is all the more reason for progressive forces everywhere to join socialist Romania and her president in the fight for nuclear disarmament before it is too late.

"We believe," President Ceausescu said, "that everything has to be done to create a means of curbing military budgets, diminishing troops and armaments, dismantling military blocs and foreign military bases and creating an international atmosphere of confidence and collaboration."

In his view the United Nations Organization should play a more active part in this by endorsing concrete resolutions for such disarmament.

"If each country accepted a reduction in military spending by just 10 per cent, savings would amount to some 50 billion dollars and if about half of this amount were put in a special UNO fund to support developing countries, substantial progress would be achieved in two major directions."

That is why all the nations of the world—and in particular, the socialist countries, since they are prompted by the ideal of peace through their very conception of life—should be directly interested in genuine efforts and in acting firmly to help this desideratum to enter the stage of implementation. "It is within the reach of people to achieve this," Ceausescu continues, "...and we appreciate highly the demonstrations of the masses in Europe and other continents against war. The powerful manifestations of our people in favour of peace are an expression of its high political awareness, of its resolve to take action, in close unity with other people, for disarmament, peace and the safeguarding of fundamental rights."

Convinced that this struggle is vital in the contemporary world, Ceausescu militates tirelessly for the success of the cause and calls for all people to make their contribution.

"Let us offer a firm 'No' to the atomic-nuclear weapon and to the

arms race. Let us build a stronger weapon, the weapon of unity in the struggle for peace, for the supreme right of man to life and freedom. Let us do everything to put material and human progress, the combined achievements of science and knowledge in the service of man, such as the call Romania's president addressed to the world, peace-loving forces that are responsible for the future of mankind everywhere."

Europe

Europe has played an outstanding part in the development of science, technology, culture and human civilization in general. In the past time in the 20th Century, alone two world wars broke out in this continent, causing irreparable and material loss. Given this, the success of the Madrid conference, the implementation of real security for all the peoples in the continent, the attainment of free development in each nation, freedom from any aggression or interference in their domestic affairs, should be a part of human cooperation and to open a new era, an era of lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world."

Nicolae Ceausescu

Romania participated actively in the preparation of the all-European conference, making an important contribution, through her president, to the success of the reunion, to the working out of the Final Act. Ever since, Romania has actively encouraged the implementation of the resulting documents as a coherent whole, so that the actions to be taken may give a new impetus to the general effort of building a climate of confidence, détente, security and peace on the continent.

What are, according to Nicolae Ceausescu, the ways and means of ensuring the progress of Europe towards implementation of the major targets set in Helsinki?

Expressing regret that in the years passed little has been done to implement the documents and that the Belgrade conference ended unsatisfactorily, the president of Romania has firmly called for a successful unfolding and conclusion of the Madrid reunion. The aim of the Romanian delegation, that has proved particularly active there is clearly explained by her president:

"We wish the reunion to call for a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe, which our country offers to host in Bucharest."

While receiving the participants in the international Colloquium on problems of European security and cooperation, held in the Romanian capital city in October, 1982, President Nicolae Ceausescu said:

"The special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament ended with no significant results, and the Madrid reunion devoted to European security has been extended for too long. Problems were presented there that did not fit into the character of the reunion, and

did not help achieve adequate understanding. In Romania's opinion, it is essential that everything is done to halt the present dangerous course of international politics and to try and solve conflict with the participation of all states on equal grounds, although special responsibility rests with the two big powers. Disarmament cannot start unless these two powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are prepared to renounce their nuclear weapons. "Since you have dealt particularly with European issues, it is necessary for us to do everything so that no further missiles are sited on our continent and measures are taken for the existing ones to be withdrawn. I believe you would agree that the siting of new missiles does not improve security, but on the contrary, increases the danger of war, the danger of a destroyed Europe. That is why we must do everything to halt the siting and development of further missiles, under adequate international control. At the same time a reduction in armaments must be achieved together with effective disarmament in the field of conventional weapons.

We attach great importance to the implementation of the signed Helsinki documents, in all their aspects. Unless we halt the arms race, however, and the siting of missiles in Europe, all the other aspects of the documents lose their importance. No matter where they come from—be it the West or the East, the missiles will not select their victims according to their political, philosophical or religious beliefs. Their victims will be men, women, children, young and old, irrespective of convictions. This is why disarmament is the major issue for us and why it should be given pride of place in a conference, in furtherance of the talks begun in Helsinki."

"We should not", Ceaușescu continued, "raise artificial obstacles to peaceful understanding and collaboration. I know that some people dislike what is happening in one country and others do not like what is happening in another. We too have our opinions on various issues, but I consider that in Helsinki we understood each other and respected our different social systems and political, philosophic and religious outlooks. We must therefore proceed in the same spirit."

Working constantly and consistently, Romania endorsed a series of important documents devoted to security and cooperation in Europe, at the initiative and under the direct guidance of her president. Here is a list of some of these documents:

- the Appeal of the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the parliaments of the countries participating in the Conference on security and cooperation in Europe (1975);
- the Appeal of the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the parliaments and governments of all states and to all people of the world (1978);
- the Appeal of the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of

Romania to all the parliaments and people of the countries participating in the Helsinki All-European Conference (1980),

the Appeal-Declaration of the Grand National Assembly and of the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania to all parliaments, supreme bodies and heads of state and to all people of the countries, participating in the All-European Conference in Helsinki (1980)

Wishing that in Madrid a stronger impetus should be given to the policy of détente and cooperation, Romania called for the expansion of contacts and collaboration, the overcoming of the division of Europe into military blocs, a united Europe, and for the observance of each nation's diversity, including the different social systems.

Nicolae Ceaușescu's ideal is very generous in this respect too: "Europe must offer mankind a new pattern of international relations, a new unity, based on collaboration between the countries with different social systems. Just like in the past, when Europe contributed a lot to civilisation, today she is called upon to open up the way for new progress, for peace on the continent and the world over."

As a matter of fact, a review of Romania's contribution to the debate on the questions of European security seems to be particularly telling:

Romania initiated the resolution, endorsed in 1966 by the U.N. General Assembly, entitled "Measures on a regional plan for the improvement of the relations of good neighbourliness among European countries belonging to different economic and social systems".

The democratic norms adopted as a modality of work at the Helsinki Conference (1975) and at the next all-European meetings was one of Romania's initiatives.

The Declaration on the principles governing mutual relations among states, included in the Helsinki Final Act, was completed, at Romania's initiative, with a distinct sub-chapter comprising political, economic and military measures, meant to render non-recourse to the use or threat of force.

Romania is among those who initiated the inclusion, in the final document of the All-European Conference, of the chapter referring to the measures for building confidence and strengthening stability on the continent.

The idea of the furtherance of the process started in Helsinki was formulated by Romania, and materialized in the provisions of the Final Act on the follow-up of the Conference.

In the Report to the 12th R.C.P. Congress, Nicolae Ceaușescu proposed that the 1980 All-European Madrid meeting should be held at foreign minister level and, at the same time, an organization should be convened, for 1985, of a new Conference on European security at head of state and government level.

Attaching particular importance to the adoption of concrete measures

for military disengagement and disarmament on the continent, as the only lasting basis for the achievement of real security. Romania proposed the organization of a special Conference on disarmament in Europe, and the conclusion of a general pact of renunciation of the use and threat of force, and non-utilization of nuclear and conventional weaponry.

Here in more detail are the proposals Romania put forward at the Madrid Meeting and which, together with those from other countries, were meant to stimulate the process, inaugurated in Helsinki, of contributing to détente and security on the continent:

measures for confidence-building;
the convening of the Conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe;
the convening of a meeting of experts who should examine the drafting of an all-European treaty on non-recourse to the use of force;
the development of co-operation in industry and agriculture;
the ensurance of the right to work, education and culture;
contacts and exchanges among young people;
the struggle against war propaganda, racism and fascism.

Related to the follow-up of the Conference on security and co-operation in Europe, Romania officially circulated as one of the main documents of the Madrid meeting, the proposal for Bucharest be the venue of the next meeting.

We consider that of special interest is the programme of measures Romania proposed, on the initiative of her president, with a view to achieving military disengagement and disarmament. These measures stipulate:

the freezing and reduction of military expenditure, and arms in the first stage until 1985, by at least 10-15 per cent, related to the current levels;
all European states should take firm pledges on reducing and ceasing military manoeuvres, and any displays of strength on the boundaries of other countries;

the reduction, by 1985, by 10-15 per cent of the foreign troops and arms located on the territories of other European states, concomitantly with a commensurate reduction in national troops of all the countries participating in the Conference on security and co-operation in Europe;

the creation of a demilitarized zone in the geographical area between the two military blocs, covering 80-100 km in width, where no armies or arms should be placed and where no military manoeuvres or demonstrations should take place;

the dismantlement of foreign military bases (nuclear bases first of all) and the withdrawal of all troops within their national boundaries, so that Europe should become a continent where military forces and equipment should no longer be sited on the territory of other states;

negotiations for the concomitant dismantlement of the military blocs — of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty — measures being taken which should guarantee the security and sovereignty of all the people in Europe;

the conclusion of an all-European pact comprising the pledge to renounce the use and threat of force.

In the context of concern over the insurance of security in Europe, Romania attaches great importance to the development of relations of good neighbourliness and collaboration with the countries in the Balkans, and campaigns for the adoption of measures which should lead to the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, free from nuclear weapons.

The collaboration at various levels, with Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey and Albania is developing well. Relations with the Danubian countries in the centre of Europe, such as Hungary and Austria, are also expanding fruitfully.

Romania's concern for the settlement of the issues of security in Europe finds a justification of utmost importance in Nicolae Ceaușescu's thinking.

"For the European countries", he said, "the question of disarmament is of particular significance, taking into account that it is on this continent that the strongest military forces, including nuclear arms, are concentrated."

In the spirit of this great responsibility, Romania's president took a definite stand in the well-known dispute on the emplacement of new medium-range missiles in Europe and the withdrawal of those already in place: "For us, European people, the question of the emplacement of new destructive nuclear missiles is not a theoretical question, but a vital problem, as these missiles are aimed at all the European countries on both sides. That is why we must say a resolute "NO" to new missiles in Europe and do everything for the cancellation or, at least, the postponement of the application of NATO's decisions and for the beginning of negotiation."

Nicolae Ceaușescu considers the eighties as decisive for the achievement of disarmament. It is known that in Moscow, he firmly opposed the augmentation of expenditure on arms and proposed to his own government that they should cut down on military expenses and allot the sums saved to the improvement of conditions for children.

Speaking at the 26th Congress of the C.P.S.U., he agreed with the Soviet Union's proposals for the organization of a Conference on disarmament and negotiations on the emplacement and development of new missiles. Nicolae Ceaușescu requested that this Conference should take place with the observance of the rights of all states and should take firm, compulsory pledges leading to the cessation of

armament and pave the way for real disarmament measures in Europe. Instead of making propaganda for armament and war, let us make propaganda for peace!" he said, raising his voice. "Let us start the negotiations and openly present each side's proposals and actions for disarmament and détente. It is only then that we shall see who is making propaganda and who is really acting for peace."

As we showed at the beginning of this chapter, the outlook of the Romanian president on security and peace issues in Europe is a wide one, aiming in fact, at the application of the Helsinki documents as "a unitary whole". Accordingly, one of the "major questions" concerning the Europeans is the expansion of co-operation.

"We consider", Nicolae Ceaușescu emphasized "that great importance should be attached to the broad and unhindered development of collaboration in all domains, among all the European states, in conditions of full equality and mutual advantage." With a view to stimulating bilateral and multilateral relations on questions of common interest, Romania, through the voice of her president, proposed the organization of several meetings, with the participation of all European states, devoted to economic co-operation, exchange of technology, mutual information about the results of scientific research, as well as in other domains. Romania also actively backs proposals related to the organization of European meetings on transport, energy, environment protection, as well as other sectors of common interest. She also backs the idea of enhancing cultural and artistic collaboration among the European states. To this end, the Romanian president proposed the organization of reunions, symposia, festivals and other inter-European manifestations, which should lead to the intensification of cultural exchanges, generate friendship among people and strengthen mutual respect for culture and tradition.

He also urges firmer action against the negative factors which still exist in Europe and opposes the course towards détente, against fascist, reactionary, national-chauvinist and irredentist movements which sow strife and distrust among people and hinder collaboration and understanding in Europe and throughout the world. In this respect, all the states participating in the Helsinki All-European Conference should assume the obligation to deter activities directed against another state from taking place on their territory, including activities concerning the mass media. "Everything possible must be done", Ceaușescu sustains, "for the correct information of public opinion about the situation in each country, this being a prerequisite of the building of confidence and friendship among nations. Any kind of propaganda fomenting violence and war should be barred and a climate of détente, friendship and collaboration among nations should be promoted."

President Ceaușescu was often requested to state his opinion on the developments in Poland. Here are two of his opinions:

Answering a foreign journalist, Nicolae Ceaușescu said:

"Romania considers that the problems of Poland are internal and ought to be settled by the Polish political forces and by the Polish people, without any outside interference. I do not wish now to try and explain the political and economic causes which led to this situation, because I consider that this should be done, first of all, by the Poles themselves who are, after all, in a better position to understand what happened."

"I consider that the economic sanctions against Poland are unjustified, that they only raise new obstacles in the way of the normalization of the situation in Poland. They are, in fact, incompatible with the relations of equality, observance of independence and non-interference in the home affairs of another country. Certainly, such measures are of a sort which contribute, to a certain extent, to the worsening of relations in Europe and, in general, in international life."

"We consider it necessary for all states to stay away and not intervene in Poland's questions but to let the Polish people settle its questions, ensure socialist construction, and provide conditions for the country to fulfil its important role in Europe and throughout the world. This fully meets both the Polish people's interests and those of European collaboration and security."

During a party and state delegation visit to Romania, led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, President Nicolae Ceaușescu said:

"Our party, state and people understood that the difficult situation which emerged in Poland at the end of 1981 required certain special measures to strengthen public order and to ensure the country's socialist development. We declared and still declare firmly that Poland's problems should be solved by the Polish people themselves, without any outside interference. We consider that at present everything possible should be done for the consolidation of the unity and strength of the Polish United Worker's Party, so that it may fulfil its role as the political leading force in the struggle for the socialist, independent and democratic development of Poland on the road to progress and well-being."

Related to the humanitarian questions, Nicolae Ceaușescu stressed the need for meetings concerned with ways of improving the life and work conditions of the working masses, including those who are forced to leave their homeland to search for work; Romania also emphasizes the need for the organization of reunions devoted to the adoption of measures against the harmful phenomena which affect the healthy development of peoples, particularly with regard to young people, such as drug addiction, pornography, violence and hatred, racism — indeed,

any manifestations "which may pollute consciousness" — (as Nicolae Ceaușescu said) — "and can lead to the degradation of human dignity and to discord among nations". "Unfortunately", he continued, "there are circles in the West which try to reduce humanitarian questions to certain elements only — and not always the most important ones — thus distorting the spirit of the Helsinki documents." Energetically attacking the theories of certain Western circles, he formulated a new concept of human rights more comprehensive than that presented by the Western states.

"It must be understood", he insisted, "that man's first right is to live in peace. If human rights are at stake, let us work so that destructive nuclear weapons are given up. Let man's right to live be observed, as well as peoples' rights to independence and peace."

Among priority human rights, Nicolae Ceaușescu also includes the right to work, to learn, to have health protection, and the right not to be oppressed or exploited. "These are the rights", he said, "that we should begin with when speaking about human rights", confident that in his country socialism has ensured these rights.

Related to other rights, so much talked about in Western countries, the Romanian president has a comprehensive and profoundly logical attitude, in keeping with his people's interests.

"Romania", he says, "distinguishes clearly between the problems of the whole family, having a sympathetic attitude for justified cases, and the question of emigration, which she definitely disapproves of. The application of human rights included in the Helsinki documents requires an end to be put to the encouragement of any activity which lures other state's citizens to leave their native homeland. In this respect, I think that the attention and efforts of the democratic forces, of the progressive governments and peoples should focus on this question and militate for the establishment of a new atmosphere of understanding, friendship and mutual respect."

But the key question is always the very defence of the human being. That is why one of the most emotive appeals launched by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceaușescu seems perfectly justified:

"I solemnly call on governments, parliaments, parties, political and social forces, on the peoples on our continent, to join together in new and perseverent efforts, in a spirit of collaboration and understanding, to progress with the realization of the pledges taken in Helsinki, to adopt new, efficient measures, for the intensification of inter-European collaboration, military disengagement on the continent, and the establishment of a climate of full security so that all nations may develop freely a lasting peace. Let us do everything possible to ensure for our people, future generations and the whole world, peace and security!"

The New World Economic Order

"As a developing socialist country, Romania is actively concerned with the eradication of underdevelopment, and the establishment of a new international economic order, prerequisites for the economic and social development of all people, for economic stability and for the consolidation of collaboration and peace the world over."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

"In the contemporary world, the eradication of the underdevelopment which affects a large part of mankind—an outcome of the old imperialist and colonialist policies and which led to the division of the world into rich and poor—is of vital importance. Convinced that the maintenance and the widening of the gaps between states are in themselves factors of tension and economic instability, Nicolae Ceaușescu emphasises the need for international communities to rally together for the eradication of underdevelopment. "This is", he says, "a major imperative of the contemporary world."

"From our own experience, we know that a decisive factor in the elimination of economic backwardness devolves upon the underdeveloped countries themselves and on their own endeavours. At the same time, it is stringently necessary for their efforts to be backed by international support, based on the principles of full equality and justice. The imperialist states have, in this respect, particular duties and obligations."

Starting from these realities and objective requirements, Ceaușescu substantiates a well-known theory on the need to establish a new international economic and political order, which should favour the faster progress of all states, beginning with the underdeveloped ones, and facilitate their access to the gains of modern science and technology.

Here are the objectives which peoples, in his opinion, must follow actively:

1. An international, economic and political order which presupposes the resolute elimination of the old relations of inequity and oppression of people by people, and requires the abolition of imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policies.
2. Relations grounded on fully equal rights among all the nations of the world, on the observance of each people's right to master its own national riches, to decide their sovereignty.
3. The observance of people's right to choose the social system they require, without any outside interference and of each nation's right to independent economic and social development.
4. A new order requiring resolute measures for the fast eradication of the gap between the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries and a rapprochement of the socioeconomic development level of all countries (account being taken, of course, of the specific historical, geographic, and climatic features of each state and of the

material necessities of peoples, contingent upon the conditions they live in).

5. The establishment of equitable ratios between the prices of raw materials and the prices of processed products, determined on the basis of economic laws, taking into consideration their use value as well as the value determined by the work needed for their manufacture.

6. Prices of raw materials and processed products to be based on the need to stimulate the productive activity of all people. Under the current circumstances, these prices should favour the faster progress of the underdeveloped countries.

- The access of all countries to raw materials and energy sources, and to the gains of modern science and technology (account being taken of the fact that the eradication of underdevelopment, and the rapid progress of all nations can only be achieved on the basis of contemporary science and technology).

8. Special programmes, under the aegis of the United Nations Organization and other international bodies to be drawn up, and to concentrate on the achievement of certain goals of vital importance for the development of human civilization.

9. Resolute steps to be taken for faster increase in farm production, capitalization of new resources, especially in the developing countries, and the undertaking of irrigation and land reclamation for the rapid development of the production of chemical fertilizers and other chemical substances needed for farm production. Likewise, scientists should make steady efforts with a view to producing new high-yield seeds and new animal breeds suitable for the climates in developing countries. In this respect, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization should draw up a programme aimed at solving the food question as quickly as possible.

10. Resolute measures to be taken for an increase in technical assistance, both industrial and agricultural and intensification of this assistance in the training of national cadres needed for the implementation of these programmes. The speeding up of economic and social progress should be based, first of all, on labour—the efforts of each individual and of the more developed countries, particularly those whose development was aided by the oppression of the underdeveloped countries and who should grant more substantial aid as a consequence.

President Ceaușescu does not fail to point out that in order to fulfil these objectives it is necessary to understand that "the new order does not mean changing the old wrapping for a new one, even if a golden one".

Romania considers that it is of utmost importance to set up a standing body of developing countries, which should be able to negotiate with the developed countries in an organized manner and on an equal footing, on the basis of a joint platform. The questions of underdevelopment and of

the establishment of a new order should be discussed by the developing countries, the developed capitalist countries and the socialist countries and they should draft together a concrete programme to that end. President Ceaușescu considered the debate on this question within the special session of the United Nations Organization General Assembly in 1980 to be a failure.

"Mankind", Nicolae Ceaușescu showed "will no longer stand a further widening of gaps, with concentration of riches on one side of the world and poverty on the other. Peace and collaboration cannot be achieved without the eradication of underdevelopment or the establishment of a new international economic order."

The Democratization of International Relations

"The resolution of the particularly complex questions confronting mankind requires the establishment of new democratic relations in the world arena, the active equal participation of all states in international life irrespective of the size of the territory, their population, their economic or military force or their social system. The responsibility of the major powers is evident, but we consider that an important role in the settlement of questions involves also the small and medium-sized countries, the developing countries, the non-aligned countries, which together constitute the largest sector of mankind and are directly interested in the promotion of new policies, to ensure such peaceful and ordered development."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

Romania declares herself firmly in favour of the democratization of international relations, and the increase in the role of the United Nations Organization and other world bodies, in the settlement of the major issues of the day and in the establishment of a climate of peace and security in the world, based on the conviction that this fully meets both the needs of the Romanian people and those of others.

Being highly appreciative of the contribution the United Nations Organization is called upon to ensure the participation of all peoples on an equal footing, in the debate and settlement of the issues facing contemporary mankind, Nicolae Ceaușescu has taken consistent action for the strengthening of the authority and prestige of this organization and for the increase of its role in the development of collaboration and peace among nations, and the defence of the principles of international law. This view has been widely greeted as a significant and constructive contribution to the cause of peace and détente in the world. Ceaușescu wanted to be present at the United Nations Organization, on the 25th anniversary of its foundation and the speech he made on the occasion is proof of the same desire to contribute to the strengthening of the role and prestige of the organisation.

Upon President Ceaușescu's initiative, proposals Romania put forward were aimed at the democratization of UNO, so that it would have a framework which would be more conducive for the active participation of all nations in the settlement of major issues. Ceaușescu showed that essentially, certain modifications of the UN Charter were needed to reflect the new situation created in the world, and which would improve its work style and methods, in such a way that a more prompt and efficient approach may become possible, as well as the equitable settlement of these issues by means of negotiations, consistent application of the endorsed decisions and resolutions, avoidance of tension and military confrontation, and the consolidation of confidence and world security.

Romania also proposed the drafting and endorsement of a universal conduct code which should be a welcome completion of the UN Charter, synthesizing the vast experience accumulated by the states in the postwar period, while making efforts for the establishment of new international relations, imbued by a sense of justice and equity, of respect and confidence among nations. Reflecting the changes in the world, the major demands and purposes of current international life, the Charter and conduct code would complement each other. "The community of the nations of the world", Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out, "needs a Charter of the United Nations Organization which proclaims and promotes new international relations, and rejects domination and oppression, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, and all forms of inequality among states. The Charter must lead to the elimination of privileges and discriminations, and take consideration of all peoples' interests, irrespective of their size. By its very content, it should inspire and direct the process of establishing really democratic and equitable relations in the world. Thus, the Charter of the United Nations Organization shall be a charter of peoples' freedom, independence and fundamental rights, ensuring the unhampered assertion of each and every nation on the road of progress and civilization, and of international peace and collaboration."

The World Peace Council awarded President Nicolae Ceaușescu its highest distinction. The announcements which accompanied this award bring to the fore the essential directions of Romania and her president's contribution to international politics and the wide range of activities in which Romania's policy of peace, collaboration and friendship among all the peoples of the world is felt today.

The International Communist and Working-class Movement

One of the great revolutionary mutations of the current epoch is the ever stronger assertion of the role of the popular masses, in giving direction to the

evolution of human society. Within this wide-embracing social process, the communist and worker parties assert themselves even more strongly, as promoters of the masses' vital interests, as organizers of the advanced social forces in the fight for progress and peace in the world."

Nicolae Ceaușescu

The activity carried out by Nicolae Ceaușescu, within the world communist and working-class movements, for the promotion of the ideals of socialism, communism, progress and peace, is widely known and appreciated.

In the spirit of its revolutionary traditions, the Romanian Communist Party largely works for the development of international relations with all communist and worker parties, all socialist and social-democratic parties, national liberation movements, all democratic and anti-imperialist forces, basing these relations on the principles of equality, mutual respect, exchange of experience and mutual aid and the spirit of international solidarity.

"Life, the supreme judge," said the general secretary of the party, "showed that only on this basis can the consolidation of international solidarity be ensured, or a new unity in the struggle for social progress, for independence and peace be achieved."

Promoter of the collaboration based on equal rights among all parties, Ceaușescu is famous internationally as the author of the theory on building a new unity of the communist and working-class movement. "We start from the reality that the communist and worker parties carry out their activity in different situations and circumstances, induced by historical, social and national features differing in each country and that is why a prerequisite of the success of their mission is the creative application of scientific socialism to specific realities, so as to find the most adequate ways and solutions to the requirements of the revolutionary fight and of the transformation of society. This calls for the exact observance of each party's right to set by itself, independently, its political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics, without any outside interference, and the establishment of relations based on full equality, mutual esteem and respect among parties. It goes without saying therefore, that there can be no leading centre of the international communist movement."

An important objective of the Romanian Communist Party is to make an increased contribution to the consolidation of the solidarity of the communist and working-class movement internationally, to the avoidance of any manifestations which could lead to the worsening of differences and to ensuring unity and collaboration among parties. As early as 1969, at Nicolae Ceaușescu's proposal, the party Congress advised the Central Committee not to blame or condemn another

fraternal party when settling differences of political or ideological opinions, but to militate for their settlement by discussions among parties and among leaderships. "In making this decision," Nicolae Ceaușescu said, "we start from the high internationalist responsibility inspiring our party, the responsibility towards the cause of the working class, the unity of socialist countries and of the communist movement and towards the general interests of socialism in the world."

"Under the current international circumstances," he noted, "the passage to socialism in one country or another cannot be made unless the historical, national and social conditions specific to each people are taken into account. Certainly, taking into consideration the great diversity of conditions in which the communist and worker parties work, it is inevitable that differences of opinions and even divergencies should appear sometimes. These must be debated scientifically, in a climate of mutual esteem and respect, avoiding any kind of invectives and being highly considerate of the others' opinion."

Considering that it is the right and obligation of each party to take action according to the objective requirements in their respective country, Nicolae Ceaușescu points out "the essential thing when approaching these questions is to avoid opposing the socialism to be built in certain countries to the socialism built and developing in others."

It is expected that the passage of new states on the road to socialism—such as happened in Romania—should witness a diversity of forms. "It is natural to have things go this way," says Nicolae Ceaușescu "account being taken of the great differences as regards economic, social and national development, history and the institutions which exist in one country or another." But Ceaușescu is convinced that it is precisely the diversity of the ways of building socialism that throw into prominence its superiority, and will ensure the passage, in a historical perspective, of mankind towards a social system without classes, i.e. to communism.

In the spirit of scientific socialism, of revolutionary theory and practice, the social revolution of national liberation should be understood not as the outcome of the export of revolution—it cannot be imported or copied—but as an outcome of the actions of the objective laws, of the fight of the revolutionary and progressive forces in each country. At the same time, any outside interference backing the reactionary forces in one country or another should be resolutely rejected, the export of counter-revolution should also be rejected under any form of manifestation.

Ceaușescu emphasises: "Everyone has a right to free economic and social development, to the building of the social system it needs, without any outside interference and time has proved that there were

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not and there will not be forces in the world capable of halting the passage to socialism and to communism."

Ceaușescu points out that, lately, we have witnessed an intensification of the activity of the various fascist or neo-fascist circles, actions against democratic freedoms and rights, against the gains of the working class, an expansion in racist, chauvinist, nationalist, anti-semitic propaganda—all these being means used by the most reactionary circles for disuniting the masses of working people in order to strengthen domination and oppression and to continue the policy of social and national exploitation. At the same time, the anti-communist propaganda and the propaganda against the progressive forces in general has been gaining in momentum. "Not for a moment shall we forget the lessons of history," says Ceaușescu "which show us that the attacks against socialism and communism have always been a diversion, part of a policy of abolishing democratic freedom, peoples' rights and a policy of aggression and war. Under these circumstances, it is more necessary than ever before, to strengthen the unity and collaboration of the working-class, of the peasantry, of the intelligentsia, and of all the peace and freedom-loving peoples, in order to reject all the actions of reactionary circles, neo-fascist manifestations under any forms, and defend democratic freedom and ensure social progress, and each and every nation's independence."

Asked by several Western journalists to state his opinion on the theory of "eurocommunism", Nicolae Ceaușescu resorted to logic and reason on those occasions too: "If there are parties which like this notion, they can adopt it, of course. There is nothing wrong in it. As a matter of fact, we have already discussed this question with a series of parties and we had shown that the notion itself is not essential. Essential is how action is taken, in keeping with national and historical realities, in respective countries, for the fulfilment of democratic transformations and an advance towards socialism. Starting from this, we think that the present discussions will be left behind, that solidarity will develop and that the way chosen by one party or another, by one country or another for development will be observed."

The position of the Romanian Communist Party and of its general secretary, on the question of the development of the communist and working-class movement, makes the communist party of Romania really appreciated by the other parties. Working in this spirit, the Romanian Communist Party is continuously strengthening international collaboration and solidarity with all the communist and worker parties, and carrying on steady activity for the consolidation of their unity and cohesion on the basis of mutual esteem and respect.

Making efforts for the strengthening of the international communist movement, Nicolae Ceaușescu is also a tireless campaigner of the

struggle for the consolidation of the unity of all the forces which work for social progress, peace and collaboration.

"Of primordial importance in this respect", he pointed out, "is the collaboration and unity of the communists and socialists. To that end both sides must set out from what unites, from the positive experience accumulated so far and should take action so as to surpass any difficulties and to attain a real reconciliation in order to consolidate their collaboration."

Nicolae Ceaușescu declares consistently—and works firmly—for the development of the collaboration and solidarity of this own party with the socialist and social-democratic parties, the national liberation movements, and with other revolutionary parties and organizations, willing to promote broad international collaboration with all the progressive forces.

The vivid and intense dialogue of the Romanian Communist Party and socialist Romania with progressive parties and forces everywhere is well-known. In this respect too, Nicolae Ceaușescu has great merits: he is one of the men who has best succeeded in maintaining the balance among the various forces of our epoch. His numerous meetings and talks with leaders of communist and worker parties from various countries, leaders of the national liberation movements, representatives of socialist and social-democratic parties, heads of states and governments, are well-known too. "Setting out from the complex picture of today's realities it is obvious that, regardless of the concrete, specific forms of action of each party, of each people, it is essential to ensure the consolidation of the collaboration and solidarity of all communist and worker parties, of socialist parties, of other democratic, progressive parties, inclusive of the religious forces, of all the social forces which campaign for the transformation and renewal of society". This is his conception.

It can be seen that Nicolae Ceaușescu firmly believes in socialism and communism for the attainment of the loftiest ideals of mankind—equality, independence, sovereignty, progress, peace and happiness for everyone. Will everyone follow this road? The Programme of the Romanian Communist Party, elaborated under the direct guidance of its general secretary, answers unequivocally: "yes!"

"The popular masses everywhere, the real makers of history," Nicolae Ceaușescu points out, "play a decisive role in the determination of the course of development of contemporary mankind." He upholds that progressive social forces, people everywhere acting in close unity, will ensure that evolution of international life on the just road of détente, independence and peace.

For Nicolae Ceaușescu, the passionate appeal launched by Marx and Engels a century and a half ago, "Workers of all countries, unite!" is more topical than ever before. But according to him, it should be

completed thus: "Workers, peasants, intellectuals, progressive, anti-imperialist forces everywhere, unite in the fight for progress and peace, for the abolition of imperialism and colonialism, for national and social freedom, for free and independent development! Work firmly for collaboration, for détente, for security, for a better and juster world on our planet, for peace!"

Chapter 5

Wide International Valuation

Opinions of Other World Personalities

"The Soviet working people assess highly the wonderful gains of the working class, of the co-operative peasants and of the intelligentsia in Romania that, under the trusted leadership of the Communist Party, have changed the look of the country. We are glad to see that the Socialist Republic of Romania is a country developing at a fast rate, that it has a modern, developing industry and a well organized co-operative agriculture. The activity of your entire party, with comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the head, takes the country to new peaks of socialist construction."

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

"The Bulgarian communists and the Bulgarian people know well your life as a devoted son of the Romanian people and of the Romanian Communist Party. We know you to be an outstanding militant of the international communist and working-class movement, one of the great friends of our country."

Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

"Our peoples appreciate highly the sustained efforts you make and the activity you carry out for consolidating the cause of international peace and collaboration grounded on fully equal rights."

Josip Broz Tito

"Under your leadership and that of the Romanian Communist Party, the Romanian people advance firmly on the path of socialism. You safeguard firmly the state sovereignty and national dignity. In international activity, you are against the law of force, you safeguard the peace of the world and the cause of human progress. This principled stand, firm and in the heroic fearless spirit of the party and of the Romanian people,

enjoy a eulogistic appreciation of the peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world."

Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party

"... You, dear comrade President, the eminent leader of the Romanian people, outstanding militant of the international communist and working-class movement, carry out an ample activity on an international plane as a militant of world peace."

Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the CC of the WPC, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

"As I had a chance to speak to President Nicolae Ceaușescu I learned to what a large extent he and the Romanian government are attached to the United Nations. I take it as a satisfaction to thank such a personality as President Nicolae Ceaușescu for the active, constructive and energetic contribution made in all the domains of activity of the UN."

Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN Secretary General

"President Nicolae Ceaușescu is not only a great leader of Romania, an outstanding politician of the Balkans and of Europe, but also a front-ranking personality of the world."

Andreas Papandreu, Prime Minister of the Hellenic Republic

"Nicolae Ceaușescu is one of the most distinguished personalities of the contemporary world, and when talking with him, one realises one is talking with a personality who knows perfectly well not only what needs doing in his own country but also what needs doing in the whole world."

Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus

"... We in Great Britain today are impressed with the resolved stand you have taken for supporting this independence. Consequently Romania holds a distinct position and plays a significant part in world affairs. Your personality, Mr President, as a statesman of world-wide repute, experience and influence, is widely acknowledged."

Elizabeth II

"I was impressed by the personality of President Ceaușescu and I am left with particular impressions about him as the leader of Romania, a country willing to develop her co-operation with other nations. Romania is making sustained efforts for consolidating peace and understanding, in particular by means of numerous direct contacts leading to the development of bilateral collaboration, and international co-operation."

Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of Great Britain



Nicolae Ceaușescu - Todor Zhivkov meeting



Nicolae Ceaușescu—Fidel Castro meeting



Nicolae Ceaușescu—Hosni Mubarak meeting



Nicolae Ceaușescu—Josip Broz Tito meeting



President and Mrs. Ceausescu—President and Mrs. Gaddafi



Nicolae Ceausescu—François Mitterrand meeting



Nicolae Ceausescu—Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger interview



Nicolae Ceausescu—Kenan Evren interview



Nicolae Ceaușescu meeting Charles and Mrs. de Gaulle



Nicolae Ceaușescu and Emperor Hirohito



During the visit to Great Britain, with Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh



During the visit to Great Britain, with Margaret Thatcher

You are the leader of a country enjoying a unique influence in your relations both with the Eastern countries, with the Western ones and with the countries of the third world. Participating in the activity of the non-aligned countries and of the developing countries, you make an important contribution to the development of the relations with the third world, to the efforts made for doing away with underdevelopment, to economic stability in which all the countries, the highly industrialized ones included, are interested."

James Callaghan, ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain

"You, Mr President, have come to symbolize the progress made by Romania in the last decades. With great interest, we witness the way in which Romania, under your leadership, has traversed an impressive economic development. On an international plane you, Mr President, have asserted yourself through an active policy that is particularly constructive. The efforts you make for contributing through a policy of peace and independence to the improvement of security in Europe are well known and appreciated by us."

Carl XVI, Gustaf King of Sweden

"We have watched with admiration, Mr President, your active commitment to the promotion of peace in the contemporary world. A result of this commitment is the well-deserved position enjoyed by Romania within the international community."

Olav V, King of Norway

"You, Mr President, have proved, on many occasions, an active untiring dedication to the cause of détente, to the safeguarding of all people's inalienable right to decide their destiny, on the path serving best their interests, to the full use of their own resources — free from the foreign interference that opposes the exertion of their full sovereignty."

Juan Carlos I, King of Spain

"France is glad to receive the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the head of state who has had an important role in the policy of rapprochement and co-operation between the two parts of Europe."

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, ex-president of France

"By his so profound understanding of the world's major problems, President Ceaușescu can contribute and does contribute to the settlement of mankind's most urgent global problems."

Richard Nixon, ex-President of the United States

"President Ceaușescu's influence in the international arena as leader of Romania is outstanding. Thanks to her president's steady position and to her independence, Romania is able to account for a bridge between nations, with profoundly diverging standpoints and interests, and between leaders who would otherwise have found it difficult to negotiate with one another."

Jimmy Carter, ex-President of the United States

"President Nicolae Ceaușescu's prestige has gone beyond the boundaries of Romania and Europe, the whole world appreciates him and regards him with admiration. The head of the Romanian state distinguishes himself by a lofty sense of responsibility at a time when tensions are very high in the world; in Europe, in the Middle East, in Asia and Africa, in Central America. His attention is especially focused on the negotiation tables, as the Romanian president is very concerned with ensuring peace and collaboration among peoples."

Pietro Longo, Secretary-General of the Italian Socialist-Democratic Party

"The multiple relations of Romania and of the Romanian head of state, on all meridians, demonstrate a position which I would call exceptional, and a firm will not to be conditioned in action by the difficulties existing in international life, by the obstacles to détente, understanding among peoples and co-operation. On the contrary, and I fully agree with this way of thinking and acting, while considering the difficulties, they turn to the elements apt to lead to solutions and not to render the international activity more difficult. I appreciate President Nicolae Ceaușescu's role in international life will keep being positive, since he enjoys a high prestige and universal consideration, thanks to his goodwill and wish for peace and for contributing to a settlement in the mutual interest."

Gulio Andreotti, ex-Prime Minister of Italy

"The leader of the Romanian state, President Nicolae Ceaușescu, makes an important contribution to maintaining peace, through a perspicacious policy of wide opening, through a clear assessment of the problems, through wise decisions and actions."

Franz Josef Strauss, Prime Minister of Bavaria, Federal Republic of Germany

"President Nicolae Ceaușescu is well known to French public opinion, he enjoys great prestige. His concept of foreign policy strongly expresses the Romanian people's will to promote peace and understanding with all nations."

Pierre Paraf, writer

"We must say that we greatly appreciate Romania's efforts and foreign policy devoted to détente and to the struggle for real peace. In this context, comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu has made very important contributions, a fact which explains the high international prestige enjoyed by the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party."

Bo Hönigmar, member of the Executive Committee, Secretary of the CC of the Left Party-Communists of Sweden

"Romania's President seemed to me just the man I had known from his declarations, from his policy. He is a personality with great experience in international matters. In the western countries, we appreciate him as an unbiased leader, a just man, a man who strongly affirms his political credo, also considering that countries can conduct friendly collaboration, irrespective of their socio-economic system. He starts from the understanding of the fact that we have to collaborate, he has a feeling for détente which allows us to avoid war, to exchange views to the benefit of the whole world, as regards peace and security."

Robert Coates, President of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada

"Romania's leader applies a realistic policy which is inspired by the loftiest human ideals. He is a true promoter of the establishment of a new, democratic system in international relations, steadily and firmly standing against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

"Therefore now, when the hard steps of the god of war threaten to shake the planet, now, when eagles loving combat stretch their wings in order to herald the evil, personalities like Nicolae Ceaușescu are a guarantee for the cause of world peace."

Ilias Iliu, Chairman of EDA—Left Democratic Union

"President Ceaușescu upholds the correct thesis that, irrespective of a small or medium-sized country's allegiance to one of the big world blocs, it still has the possibility to take action, to take even some initiatives in approaching the major issues facing contemporary mankind, as well as the thesis that, for the common purposes of détente and international peace, the duty of all peoples, small and medium-sized, irrespective of their political and social system, is to collaborate among themselves."

Constantine Mitsotakis, ex-Foreign Minister of Greece

"As a socialist country, Romania, under President Nicolae Ceaușescu's wise leadership, has made remarkable progress in every domain... President Nicolae Ceaușescu is one of the remarkable international political personalities, characterized by great modesty, with personal ideological contributions and a steady concern for impressing

a democratic character on international relations, for the development of the relations of friendship with all states, Sri Lanka included."

Bernard Soysa, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party of Sri Lanka

"I have to say from the bottom of my heart that the position adopted by comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, by the Romanian government and people has permanently been positive and therefore warmly appreciated by the liberation movements in Africa, by SWAPO in particular. The considerable assistance received from Romania has been an important support to us in the continuation of the national liberation struggle."

Sam Nujoma, Chairman of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)

"Socialist Romania and her much beloved leader, who internationally symbolize, in a wonderful way, the firm attachment to the ideas of justice, freedom, independence, peace and progress, are always on the side of the oppressed peoples, those that are victims of aggression and that fight to win their independence back."

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea

"Dear friend, you have had the great merit to initiate numerous concepts to rule relations among the states of eastern Europe, Africa and the Arab world. You have laid lasting foundations for the relations of friendship between your country and the peoples on the African continent and the Arab states."

Gaafar Mohammad Nimeri, President of the Democratic Republic of Sudan

"... You have a right leadership in Nicolae Ceaușescu. He represents his country's interests, the welfare of all his people in his country and outside his country. He is your greatest ambassador, your great image projected in order to show what a Romanian means. You should therefore be proud! He is a pride also to other revolutionists, he is a pride to a communist, to those who build socialism!"

Samora Moises Machel, Chairman of Frelimo Party, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique

"By awarding the order 'Karl Marx' we equally value the exceptional merits you have won at the head of the Romanian people and state, in the work of your country's socialist transformation and of enhancing its international prestige."

Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic

"You have understood that your independence cannot be complete unless the whole of mankind is freed of the chains of imperialism and colonialism. That is why Romania has stood in front of those who have assisted us in our just struggle for national emancipation. You have given us material and moral support in the hardest of trials. The main merit for everything that has been done by the Romanian Communist Party, by the Romanian people for the success of our independence struggle belongs to His Excellency Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, a sincere and devoted friend of the Zimbabwe people."

Canaan Sodindo Banana, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

"As to myself, I experience the same joy about our relationship, a joy stemming from my profound appreciation of your clear-sighted position, of your wisdom, courage, wide, all-embracing vision of history, of your peculiar capability of assuming responsibility, of your standing above events and your approach to the realities of our epoch."

Mohammad Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt

"I am highly appreciative of the position of the Socialist Republic of Romania under your wise leadership of supporting the liberation movements, the cause of peace, of socialist construction and international co-operation. I am extending to you my people's thanks for the position you have adopted in supporting the Palestinian people's fight."

Yassir Arafat, President of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization

"Romania has accomplished impressive political, economic, industrial and social development in the past two decades under your dynamic and competent leadership. Your experience sets an example of the validity of self-confidence as a stimulus to development."

Alhaji Shehu Shagari, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

"... We are glad to receive the official, friendly visit of the man under whose dynamic leadership the Romanian people have scored big victories in all domains of industry, agriculture, education, science, culture and in numerous other fields; the man who, before assuming the highest state responsibilities, resolutely campaigned within the Romanian Communist Party and whose entire life is one with his country's recent history."

Jean Baptiste Bagaza, President of the Burundi Republic

"President Nicolae Ceaușescu's theses and ideas make an important contribution to the struggle of the progressive forces the world over for

the promotion of a new democratic policy, for the entrenchment of peace and justice, for a new economic and political order."

Wahid Jouhar, Chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon

"Your country's policy is clear and firm, as it declares steadily for actual measures leading to the elimination of weapons and wars from society's life. President Nicolae Ceaușescu's peace and collaboration initiatives are a constant feature of Romania's international policy."

Takashi Shimamura, Chairman of the Japan-Romania Friendship Association (November 1981)

"We have been very impressed by President Ceaușescu's insistent emphasis on the just principles laid by Romania at the basis of her foreign policy of international relations in general, by the fact that these principles are not only affirmed but also positively concretely applied, making a special contribution to the promotion of peace and collaboration among the world states."

Shinichi Miki, member of the Japanese Diet

"Your presence, Mr. President, in Mexico, allowed us to get confirmation of what we had known about you: a statesman who passionately and patriotically works for people who has dedicated himself to the big popular tasks imposed by the country since his early youth, the man who suffered persecutions and repression and managed to be an essential factor for a long time in Romania's transformation. In defence of her interests, the man who has turned his country into an important international factor. You conceive this political activity as a supreme effort, with passion and clear-sightedness."

Luis Echeverría, former ex-President of Mexico

"For myself, I highly appreciate the efforts of the Romanian government and of President Ceaușescu in favour of European security, of all peoples, peace and independence, of non-interference by some countries in other countries' domestic affairs."

Alberto Simões, Secretary-General of the Portuguese Socialist Party

"Romania's President a great statesman, steadily campaigns for peace in the world, for mankind's unity and progress. People know well the values of peace, of free European unity and cooperation. Inevitably efforts for the solving of the Middle East crisis by negotiated agreements and the whole world acknowledges the constructive activity of Romania of President Ceaușescu. Likewise well known and appreciated is the Romanian Head of State's position on disarmament and détente. His

conception essentially pursues man's freedom . . . In my opinion, there are few political leaders who make such a contribution. Romania's name and President Nicolae Ceaușescu's name have therefore been recorded in the history of the struggle for mankind's peace and progress."

Roger J. A. Fell, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ghana

"Romania's President is one of the most important international personalities. President Nicolae Ceaușescu made it possible for the world to learn what pluralism means, what détente means and what a permanent dialogue with all states of the world means."

Daniel Oduber Quiroz, Chairman of the National Political Direction of the National Liberation Party of Costa Rica, ex-President of the Republic of Costa Rica

International Titles and Distinctions awarded to President Nicolae Ceaușescu

- Argentina**
- The Collar of the Grand Order "El Libertador"
 - The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of the Buenos Aires University, handed over by the rector
 - The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of the Bahia Blanca South University
- Austria**
- "The Great Star of the Order for Merits" of the Republic of Austria
- Belgium**
- "The Great Collar of the Leopold Order"
- Brazil**
- "The Great Collar the Cruzeiro do Sul National Order"
- People's Republic of Bulgaria**
- "The Georgi Dimitrov Order"
 - The Gold Medal of Honour of Botevgrad
 - The "Georgi Dimitrov" jubilee medal
 - The gold insignia of Sofia City
 - The insignia of Plovdiv City, First Class
 - "The Grand Cross of the Order of Valour"
 - "The Grand Girdle" of the National Order of the Burundi Republic
- Burundi**
- "The Grand Cross of the Order of Value"
- Cameroon**
- Memorial medal marking the 30th anniversary of the May Insurrection of the Czechoslovak people, of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army
- Czechoslovak Socialist Republic**
- "The Great Cross of the Order for Merit"
- Centrafrican Republic**
- The "Boyaca" Order
- Colombia**
- The title of "Guest of Honour of Colombian Capital City", granted by the mayor-general of Bogota
 - "The Great Cross of Merit"
- People's Republic of Congo**
- The Order "Jose Marti"
- Republic of Cuba**
- The jubilee Cuban medal "The 20th Anniversary of the Assault of the Moncada Barracks"
 - "The Great Girdle of the Makarios Order"
 - The Order of the Elephant
 - The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of the Central University of Ecuador, granted by the rector of the University
 - "The Great Collar of the National Order of Merit"
- Cyprus**
- Denmark**
- Ecuador**

Arab Republic of
Egypt
Finland

France

Gabon

German Democratic
Republic
Federal Republic of
Germany
Ghana

Greece

Republic of Guinea

Iran

Italy

- The Order "The Great Collar of the Nile"
- The Order "The Great Cross of the White Rose" with collar
- "The Great Cross of the Legion of Honour"
- The memorial medal "Georges Pompidou"
- The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of Nice University
- "The Gold Medal" with sash and plate of the Institute for Problems of the New International Economic Order
- Honorary President of the Paris Institute for Problems of the New International Economic Order
- The Gold Medal of the Senate and the Memorial Coffin prepared on the centennial anniversary of the French Senate
- The Great Cross of the Order "Ecuatorial Star"
- The Order "Karl Marx"
- "The Great Cross of the Order of Merit" of the Federal Republic of Germany
- The high distinction of Knight of the Order "The Star of Ghana"
- "The Great Cross of the Order of the Saviour"
- The Gold Medal of Athens city and the Diploma of honorary citizen of Athens city
- The Great Cross of the National Order "Truthfulness to the People"
- The Order "Pahlavi" with collar
- The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of Teheran University
- The Order "The Great Girdle of the Merit of the Republic"
- "The Aldo Moro Gold Medal", "The Silver Caravel"—the symbol of Bari, the Diploma of citizen of Bari city
- "The Gold Medal with Plaquette of the Rome International Relations Institute"
- The Jubilee Medal issued by the institute on the 35th anniversary of Romania's liberation
- The "Simba" award for peace for 1978

- The Special Gold Medal, first class
 - "Leonardo da Vinci" and the plaque and gold medals issued on the 15th anniversary of the Rome International Relations Institute
 - "The Gold Plaque of the Piedmont Regional Junta"
 - "The Great Cross of the National Order"
 - "The Al-Hussein Bin Ali Collar"
 - "The Great Girdle of the Supreme Order of Chrisantemum"
 - The Order "The Republic's Flag", first class
 - The Order "The Mubarak the Great Collar"
 - The silver plaque of Kuwait University
 - The Order "Lebanese Merit"
 - The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of Lebanese University, handed over by the university's rector
 - The Great Girdle of the Order of the Pioneers
 - "The Great Collar of the Mohammaddi Order"
 - "The Great Girdle of the Mauritanian National Merit"
 - The medal "Champion of World Peace of the 20th Century"
 - "The Great Collar of the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle"
 - The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of Yucatan University
 - The jubilee gold medal issued on the Fifth Anniversary of Mozambique's Independence
 - The "Order of St Olav"
 - The medal of Amsterdam city offered by the mayor of the city
 - The "Nishan-i-Pakistan" Order
 - The Pakistani jubilee medal "Quaid-i-Azam"
 - "The Great Cross of the Order of the Sun"
 - The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of the San Marcos National University
 - The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of the National Engineering University of Peru
 - "Illustrious Guest of Peruvian Capital", declared by the Lima municipality
- Ivory Coast**
- Jordan**
- Japan**
- Democratic People's Republic of Korea**
- Kuwait**
- Republic of Lebanon**
- Republic of Liberia**
- Morocco**
- Mauritania**
- Mauritius**
- Mexico**
- Mozambique**
- Norway**
- The Netherlands**
- Pakistan**
- Peru**

The Philippines**Portugal
San Marino****Senegal****Syrian Arab
Republic
Somalia****Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Tunisia****Turkey****United Kingdom
USSR****Venezuela****Upper Volta
Yugoslavia****Zaire****Zambia**

- The Order "Sikatuna", first class
- The title of "Doctor honoris causa" of the Philippine University
- "The Great Cross of the Santiago Order"
- The Equestrian Order of San Marino
- The gold plaque with the Roman Head of State's effigy
- "The Great Cross of the National Order of the Lion"
- "The Great Girdle of the Omayds"
- "Knight of the Star of Somalia with Big Girdle"
- The Order "Civil Merit with collar"
- The Order "The Collar of Honour"
- The Seraphim Royal Order
- "The Great Girdle of the Order of Independence"
- Diploma of citizen of honour and the gold key of Ankara city
- Knight of the Great Cross of the "Bath" order
- The "Lenin" Order
- The jubilee medal "20 Years since the Victory in the Great War for the Homeland's Defence, 1941-1945"
- The jubilee medal instituted on Lenin's birth centennial
- The jubilee medal "30 Years since the Victory in the Great War for the Homeland's Defence, 1941-1945"
- The Order "El Libertador"
- The Diploma of "Guest of Honour of the Caracas capital city and federal district", granted by the Municipal Council of the Venezuelan capital
- "The Great Girdle of the National Order"
- The Order "The Great Star of Yugoslavia"
- The memorial plaque of Belgrade city
- The Order of "Hero of Socialist Labour"
- The title of citizen of honour of Belgrade city
- "The Great Girdle of the National Order of the Leopard"
- The Order "Great Friend of Freedom", Great Commander

Apimondia

- "Free Citizen of Zambia's Capital" granted by the mayor of Lusaka city
- The card of "Honorary Member of the United Party of National Independence"
- Apimondia jubilee medal (conferred in token of homage at the 20th International Bee-keeping Congress by the Executive Council of the International Federation of Bee-keepers' Association)

World Peace Council

- The gold medal "Frédéric Joliot-Curie" of the World Peace Council

World Federation of United Towns UN

- The jubilee medal of the World Federation of United Towns
- The silver jubilee medal issued on the 25th anniversary of the United Nations

World Organization of General Systems of Cybernetics

- The "Norbert Wiener" gold medal
- The gold medal with rosette and plaque of the Institute for Problems of the New International Economic Order, and the gold plaque with effigy issued on the Institute's anniversary
- The distinction "Man of the Year 1980—for Peace"
- The distinction "Man of the Year 1981" and the silver plaque together with a symbolic statuette

Epilogue

President Nicolae Ceaușescu's name and personality are the symbol of Romania's development on the road of material, social and cultural progress.

At the end of this book, it is easy, we think, to understand the renown Ceaușescu enjoys at home and abroad. Taking advantage of, and developing the best traditions of Romanian social and political thinking and practice, the results scored by the Romanian Communist Party in building the socialist society, as well as the experience of the communist and worker parties from other countries, Nicolae Ceaușescu has made a particularly important contribution to the elaboration of certain fundamental concepts on the development of the revolutionary process in Romania and to the attainment of socialist and communist ideals in the contemporary epoch. In his theoretical work, which comprises over 20 volumes totalling more than 15,200 pages, Nicolae Ceaușescu articulates the concept of multilaterally developed socialist society making an essential, genuine contribution to the development of scientific socialism. According to his outlook, the new stage in Romania's development was seen as a vast process, comprising, in close dialectical interdependence, the questions of the expansion and modernization of the country's technical and material base, of the improvement of social and economic relations, of the governing and management of society, organically linked with the questions of the moulding and education of the new man, the man of the socialist and communist epoch.

We have tried to outline the significant contribution made by Ceaușescu to the development of the theory and practice of socialist construction, and to the substantiation and the increase of the leading role of the party in view of its integration in society. The reader of this book will also have become acquainted with the theses on the increasing role of the communist party and with the tasks incumbent on the state in the scientific organization of the entire economic and social activity, as well as with the dynamics of its internal and external functions, the outlook on the development of socialist democracy as a major aspect of the process of building the new social system and with the original theses on the party's ideological programme, of the principles and norms of the work and life of the communists and of socialist ethics and equity. Romania's leader has made a considerable contribution to the analysis of the role of the nation in socialism, in the elaboration and application of the party's policy on nationalities, on the basis of the marxist-leninist thinking, to the elucidation of the dialectical relation between the development of the socialist nation and of proletarian internationalism, between patriotism and socialist internationalism.

Nicolae Ceaușescu has scientifically substantiated, on the basis of the revolutionary theory of the working class and the realities of our epoch, the diversity of the ways of passing from capitalism to socialism, to the new principles grounding inter-state relations and all peoples' rights to develop, freely and independently, without any outside interference. He has also made an important contribution both to the elaboration of the theoretical concepts of European and international security, and of a new international economic and political order, as well as to the settlement of many other fundamental issues of the building of a better and juster world on our planet.

The titles of Doctor of Political Sciences (1978), Doctor of Economic Sciences (1978), Doctor honoris causa of the Bucharest University (1973), as well as the function of Honorary President of the Academy of social and political sciences (1970) are a confirmation of his vast theoretical work.

Naturally, this work is backed by concrete activity aimed at translating it into fact, and has provoked the sympathy, love and esteem of the Romanian people.

"Our whole nation appreciates the decisive role you play in the elaboration and implementation of the policy of building a multilaterally developed socialist society on Romania's soil"—reads the Letter sent by the Executive Political Committee of the C.C. of the R.C.P. to Nicolae Ceaușescu, on January 26, 1981, his birthday anniversary—"the major theoretical and practical contribution you make to the substantiation and elaboration of adequate solutions for the complex questions of socialist construction, for the homeland's firm advance on the road of socialism and communism, as you apply in a creative manner the general truths of dialectical and historical materialism, to the specific conditions in our country".

The innovative character of his work has been widely acknowledged by numerous political, cultural and scientific circles in all continents. Significant in this respect are the praises that prestigious personalities, leaders of countries and peoples and prominent politicians have expressed for Nicolae Ceaușescu and for his contribution to mankind's general interests. Here we recall the welcome words Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth of England addressed to president Ceaușescu and to Madam Elena Ceaușescu, during their visit to England, an expression of the joy to have the Romanian head of state and his wife as guests at Buckingham Palace.

The appendices of this book show part of the titles awarded to Romania's president by heads of states and governments, as well as the biographies dedicated to him the world over. The titles of these books, some of which were printed several times, speak for themselves about the appreciation president Ceaușescu's political and scientific work

enjoys abroad: "The Demiurge of New Romania", "Nicolae Ceaușescu—Peace and Collaboration in the Balkans and the world over" (Greece), "Nicolae Ceaușescu: Let us change the world—for a new international order" (Italy), "Ceaușescu, Romania and the Arabs" (Egypt), "Ceaușescu and Romania" (Turkey), "Nicolae Ceaușescu—Romania and the contemporary world" (Mexico), "Nicolae Ceaușescu—the Romanian Point of view. Theses of National and International Policy" (West Germany), "Ceaușescu—The science of leadership for a modern Romania" (Austria), "Nicolae Ceaușescu—the man, his ideas and the achievements on the road of socialism" (England).

We shall quote the words uttered by M. Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary-general of the United Nations Organization, at the close of his visit to Romania:

"It was for me, in my capacity as U.N. secretary-general, a kind of an obligation, I could say, to visit a country whose faithfulness to the principles of the United Nations is so well-known. I had the opportunity to be received by Romania's president, Nicolae Ceaușescu and to see to what extent he himself and the Romanian government are devoted to the United Nations. During the meeting with the president we made a survey of almost all the international issues.

I keep a strong impression that President Nicolae Ceaușescu is a man who believes in the United Nations Organization and that it is an adequate instrument for the settlement of international issues, but that, on the other hand, there is a need for certain modifications in the way in which it is used by the member countries. I want to confess that the confidence his excellency has in the U.N. is for me a source of comfort and confidence in the role of the Organization. We, at the United Nations, appreciate the contribution Romania makes to the efforts for the settlement of the questions by peaceful means and her concern for a closer collaboration of the member countries which should attach more importance to the questions of the third world. Romania's activity has always influenced the U.N. member countries and she sponsored resolutions of paramount importance for international life and community".

We are entitled, we think, to say, at the end of this biography, that the Romanian people can look to their future with optimism, fully confident in their forces, in the political force leading them and in President Ceaușescu at the helm.

Appendix I

Works by Nicolae Ceașescu published in Romania

- I. Romania on the Way of Completing Socialist Construction
(reports, speeches, articles) — Political Publishing House
Vol. 1 (July 1965–Sept. 1966)
Vol. 2 (Sept. 1966–Dec. 1967)
Vol. 3 (Jan. 1968–March 1969)
- II. Romania on the Way of Building Up Multilaterally Developed
Socialist Society (reports, speeches, articles) — Political Publish-
ing House
Vol. 4 (April 1969–June 1970)
Vol. 5 (July 1970–May 1971)
Vol. 6 (May 1971–February 1972)
Vol. 7 (March 1972–December 1972)
Vol. 8 (January 1973–July 1973)
Vol. 9 (August 1973–March 1974)
Vol. 10 (March 1974–November 1974)
Vol. 11 (November 1974–September 1975)
Vol. 12 (October 1975–May 1976)
Vol. 13 (May 1976–December 1976)
Vol. 14 (January–September 1977)
Vol. 15 (September 1977–March 1978)
Vol. 16 (April–August 1978)
Vol. 17 (September 1978–March 1979)
Vol. 18 (March 1979–September 1979)
Vol. 19 (September 1979–March 1980)
Vol. 20 (April–October 1980)
Vol. 21 (October 1980–May 1981)
Vol. 22 (May–November 1981)
- III. "THE SOCIO-POLITICAL THINKING OF ROMANIA'S PRESI-
DENT" — (Political Publishing House)
— The Development and Modernization of the Techno-Material
Basis of Socialism in Romania

- Socialist Humanism
- The Solving of the National Question in Romania
- The Liquidation of Underdevelopment, of the Gaps among States, the Building of a New International Economic Order
- The Development of Education, Science and Culture in Romania
- Socialist Democracy in Romania
- Democratization of International Relations
- Welfare of the People—Supreme Goal of the Romanian Communist Party's Policy
- Fundamental Processes and Trends in Contemporary World Developments
- Romania's International Policy of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation with All the Peoples
- Disarmament is Vital to All Mankind
- Youth—the Future of our Socialist Nation
- The Growing Role of the Woman in the Economic and Socio-Political Life of Socialist Romania
- For the Unity of the Democratic, Progressive and Revolutionary Forces all over the World
- Romania's Contribution to attaining a Lasting System of Security and Co-operation in Europe
- The Role and the Tasks of Trade Unions in Romania
- The Growing Leading Role of the Romanian Communist Party in the Present Stage
- The Role of Press in the Work of Socialist Construction
- Science—Progress—Peace

IV. "THE ECONOMIC THINKING OF ROMANIA'S PRESIDENT" (Political Publishing House)

- Romania's National Economy
- Unitary Management of Economy
- Foreign Trade and International Economic Co-operation
- Technico-Scientific Revolution and Technological Progress
- Resources of Energy and Raw Materials
- Finances—Prices—Currencies
- Population and Work Force
- Assertion and Strengthening of Romania's Economic Independence
- National Income and Improvement of Standard of Living

V. "THE PHILOSOPHICAL THINKING OF ROMANIA'S PRESIDENT, NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU" (Political Publishing House)

- The Materialist-Dialectical Conception, the Ideological Base of Romanian Communist Party's Policy and Activity

- Man and the Assertion of its Personality in the Socialist Society—1981
- The Dialectics of Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society—1982
- General and Particular, National and International in the Socialist Revolution and Consciousness—1982

VI. OTHER BOOKS

- The history of the Homeland and of the Romanian Communist Party in the Oeuvre of President Nicolae Ceaușescu (The Institute for Historical, Social and Political Studies, Under the CC of the RCP—Military Publishing House, 1979)
- Selected Works—Vol. 1 (1965–1970) Political Publishing House—1982
- Vol. 2 (1971–1975) Political Publishing House—1982
- Vol. 3 (1976–1980) Political Publishing House—1982

Appendix II

Works on the Life and Personality of Nicolae Ceaușescu Published Abroad

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Interview



Nicolae Ceaușescu—Robert Maxwell meeting

Interview with Robert Maxwell

Robert Maxwell: Dear Mr President, you have been holding the highest political and state office in Romania for almost 18 years, a fact for which we warmly congratulate you. What has - in your opinion - made you so popular with the Romanians?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: In the years of socialist construction, Romania has recorded powerful development in every domain of activity. The Romanian economy has developed at high rates in an historically short lapse of time. From a country with a generally weak economy, Romania has turned into a country with modern, strong industry and advanced agriculture. This has allowed for the fast raising of people's material and spiritual living standards. Science, education and culture have powerfully developed.

The whole country has witnessed transformations in all domains. Industrial, economic, scientific and cultural units have been built virtually in every town and commune. As any visitor to Romania can see, our homeland's towns and villages have greatly thrived these years. A large number of dwellings and socio-cultural establishments have been built, all of them contributing to the building of a new, better life for the Romanian people.

I should add to this the strengthening of the national independence and sovereignty, the policy of peace, friendship and collaboration with all states of the world, promoted by the Romanian Communist Party and by the Romanian State.

All this has earned the whole people's unanimous support for our Party's policy.

As a revolutionist, then while carrying on various activities with the Party and State leadership, then on the Party and State leadership for almost 18 years now, I have always worked in the interests of the people, of their welfare, independence and happiness. This has earned my Party's and my people's confidence and has made me do my best to deserve this confidence, to serve the best my people's interests, their aspirations for a better life and independence, and

Romania's policy of peace and collaboration with all peoples of the world

Robert Maxwell: The National Conference of the Party held in Bucharest in December 1982 was quite an event in Romania's life. Would you refer, for the readers of this book, to the new home and foreign policy guidelines that the National Conference debated, as well as to its main decisions?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: The Party's National Conference summed up the activity along three years, since the 1979 Twelfth Congress, including the first two years of the 1981-1985 five-year plan. Besides, considering the special problems in international life, both political and economic, which were consequential also for Romania just like for all states, the Conference was meant to set ways for the overcoming of some temporary difficulties and for securing the implementation of the Party's Programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society. And then we made a more general analysis of the current development stage of the Romanian socialist society and drew some theoretical and practical conclusions from it for the activity of our Party and State and of the Romanian people in the new circumstances.

At the National Conference we analyzed critically and self-critically our way of action in recent years. We reached the conclusion that many contradictions are manifest in our society in various spheres including certain contradictions between industrial and agricultural development, between town and village, between the powerful enhancement of the popular masses' consciousness and a certain lag behind of political-ideological activity. From this, we drew the necessary conclusions for taking action toward eradicating or, to put it better, overcoming these contradictions and achieving the best possible harmony between various spheres of activity.

We started from the fact that the old theses, according to which contradictions cannot emerge in socialism, have proved quite improper. In socialism too, just like in any society, contradictions do and will appear. Yet, in socialism the question is to purposefully act so that clashes should not appear and these contradictions should not sharpen, so that they may be grasped and purposeful action taken for overcoming them.

As early as the Twelfth Congress, we approached the question of developing more the raw materials base, power engineering and agriculture in order to achieve a better balance between these sectors of activity. The economic crisis in the years that followed demonstrated that the assessments made at the Twelfth Congress had been fully corroborated by the subsequent course of international events. I should say that in a way we averted a series of problems.

Some measures entailed by these assessments have already been taken, but we are only at the beginning. Therefore, at the Party's National Conference in December 1982 we gave pride of place to the measures for the carrying through of the programmes of energy development and energy self-sufficiency, strong development of the domestic raw materials base and the more powerful development of agriculture.

I think the path set and the measures endorsed to this end will ensure the overcoming of certain difficulties that have emerged in Romanian socialist society because of both some drawbacks of our own and the world economic crisis, securing the country's further development on the lines established by the Twelfth Congress and the complete fulfilment of the Party's Programme.

At the National Conference we also paid special heed to the political and economic international issues. We started from the fact that the current world situation calls for pride of place to be given to the struggle for halting the arms race, for disarmament and peace, for ensuring the fundamental right of peoples and nations to existence, peace and independence. We advanced a package of proposals in this spirit for the rallying of all peoples' efforts toward attaining these targets.

We have attached special importance to the world economic issues, to the economic crisis and particularly to the grave situation of the developing countries and the gap which is growing wider between the rich and the poor countries. Also in this field we worked out certain proposals concerning the consolidation of solidarity and collaboration among developing countries, the need of building a new international economic order, and, first of all, for real negotiations between the rich and the poor countries in order to arrive at concrete measures for solving the problems of underdevelopment. Among them, we tackled the issue of writing off the debts of the poorer countries, of reducing the debts of certain countries and of establishing ceiling rates of interests that have become excessive.

The basis in our working out these proposals is the fact that the world economic problems can be settled, and the crisis can be defeated only by finding real solutions to the problems of the developing countries such as would provide conditions capable of accelerating economic and social development in the respective countries. This can no longer be done through superficial measures, but requires - talking in a more revolutionary spirit - radical measures. True, they ask that the developed countries act and plan in a new spirit, which is not easy. We, however, noted with great

satisfaction that many politicians and many economists of developed countries understand that the time has come for radical measures to be taken. Other people - such as in the case of the Brandt Commission - have accidentally come up with certain ideas that are similar to our proposals, which proves that if setting out from a realistic analysis of the present state of affairs one can only reach identical or very similar conclusions.

Robert Maxwell: Mr President, the foreign press has insistently referred to late to a thesis you have launched, namely the replacement of the thesis of dictatorship of the proletariat by the formula "the state of revolutionary worker democracy". What do you mean by the fact that this thesis is completely inadequate for Romania, as well as by the fact that the renunciation of this thesis opens new development prospects to human society?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: While making an analysis of the present stage attained in the development of the Romanian socialist society we had to draw certain general conclusions concerning the activity carried out in the past, the present and the future of the human society. This has made it necessary for us to analyse also certain theoretical theses that for a long time exerted - and still do - a strong influence on the revolutionary working-class movement, and on the world in general.

Among them there is the thesis concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course, this emerged under certain historical circumstances. Marx, for instance, worded this in a certain way after the Commune of Paris, consequent to its cruel defeat by the bourgeoisie. This led to the question: what actions should be taken for avoiding such defeats in the future?

Robert Maxwell: From this angle, do you see the Commune of Paris as a spontaneous event or as a mass action?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: The Commune of Paris cannot be viewed only as a spontaneous action. Yet, it was not organized in such a way as to avoid defeat, nor did conditions needed for this end exist. This problem should be dealt with at length. Lenin developed the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat while taking into consideration the conditions then existing in the world and particularly in the Soviet Union. Of course, one way or another it was endorsed and appropriated as a general thesis.

Still, life has proved that this thesis had to be revised at a time when the notion of the dictatorship has acquired new forms and meanings; I believe that the very use of this notion can confuse the working class and the peoples. Basically, socialism is not a dictatorship system but a democratic one in which the people, the broad masses of the working people, consciously forge their future. In fact, both Marx and Lenin envisioned the use of proletariat dictatorship for a very short while in the period of taking over power

and eradicating the exploiting classes, and not as a form of leadership meant to be generalized as a form of government.

At the same time we had in mind the social transformation that had come about in Romania. I mean the extension of the democratic framework and the fact that we do not even have a proletariat in our country any longer, since after taking over political power, the working class had turned into a new proprietary class, as master of the means of production. So, the existence of a proletariat, in the proper meaning of the word, is out of the question. In a country where the working class is a leading class of society and the forms of leadership by the working class are not dictatorial but democratic, one cannot speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The participation of the masses, of all classes, in societal government and the broad development of the democratic bodies also require clarification of the theoretical notions, so as to avoid any misunderstanding and most clearly assert the democratic character of socialism and to demonstrate the false character of the theses of some reactionary, imperialist circles which, by using some mistakes of one socialist country or another, try to slander socialism, presenting it as an undemocratic system. That is why we have come to the conclusion that it is more adequate to adopt the thesis of a state of the revolutionary working-class democracy in the present stage of development, which meets more adequately the realities of this country and the demands on a wider, international plane, mirroring more truthfully the role played by the working class - the most developed class in the present-day society - in the management of society, in turning the world to the way of socialism.

No doubt, in the case of Romania this thesis comes up with clear theoretical and practical prospects for the improvement of the democratic management of society, and, at the same time, opens wider prospects to the assertion of the superiority of socialism, of its democratic character, taking into account that today more and more people look for, in one way or another, a passage to socialism. Consequently, the fact needs to be understood well that socialism does not mean dictatorship but democracy, participation of the people in the administration of all fields of activity, of society as a whole.

Robert Maxwell: Like many other countries, Romania has also been affected by an increase in world prices. You are known to have an ambitious energy and raw materials self-sufficiency programme. Do you consider it a realistic programme? Will its fulfilment bring about a decrease of the population's standard of living? Would Your Excellency also explain the fact that, at this time of world recession, when the Western industrialized countries register growing

unemployment and inflation, a reduction of exports, Romania plans a 5% annual growth rate? Is this achievable?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: I have already mentioned that, to a certain extent, the world economic crisis has affected Romania too, as all other countries. We took a series of steps to develop more strongly the energy and raw materials base. We consider that in Romania there are possibilities to develop both the energy and raw materials base to such an extent, that Romanian industry will be capable today of solving all the questions of the use and capitalization of the energy and raw materials base, while Romanian science and technological research are able to offer the needed solutions for the efficient capitalization of these resources, even if they are less.

From this point of view, we think our programmes are realistic and are fully attainable. Certainly, they require very serious efforts, but we have taken the necessary technical and organizational steps and will work firmly to fulfill them.

Financially speaking, we intend to carry out all of these programmes with our own forces, in no way seeking credits abroad. The carrying through of these programmes will provide better conditions for the socio-economic activity, for the fulfilment of the programmes for industry, for all domains, and - as such - will exert a positive influence on the fulfilment of the provisions of economic growth in general. This will directly determine the achievement of the gross product, of the national income and, therefore, of the means needed for raising the people's standards of living.

Therefore, our programmes are not intended to lower the population's standard of living. On the contrary, we intend to increase the working people's real income by 8-10 per cent in this five-year plan period. It is less than in 1979, but it is an increase. In the second half of this year we plan to augment the working people's remuneration, which will ensure the fulfilment of these targets.

Robert Maxwell: This is a very important achievement. Will it not entail an increase in inflation?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: We raised prices last year, but the growth of the remuneration is of a nature so as to cover them and ensure a real income within the mentioned limits. We do this by developing economic activity, that is on the basis of greater production, labour productivity and economic efficiency.

Robert Maxwell: Mr President, you have recently said that Romania should expand and diversify its foreign trade so as to achieve a balance of payments and to pay off its foreign debt until 1990. Considering certain assertions of the western press on Romania's insolvency, would you tell our readers which is the truth of the matter? Which is the current stage of your relations with the

International Monetary Fund and other banks? Which were the factors you were counting on when you planned a trade surplus over 1983-1984? What do you have in view when you say exchanges should be intensified, not reduced, even in the current economic recession?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: Indeed, we pay great attention to the questions of evening the commercial payments balance. That is why we laid special stress on increasing exports. We really have the necessary products to ensure the planned exports. In general, these are products we can sell on the international market, which will allow us to ensure the planned imports, as well as pay off a part of the foreign debt. We intend to pay off at least 50 per cent of this debt until 1985.

In 1982, we had an active trade balance of about two billion dollars. This year we hope it to be greater. However, in order to avoid troubles, we intend to discuss another spacing out of some debts so that no further tension may arise.

With the IMF we have developed a generally good cooperation. We do not plan to make any new arrangements in future and I hope we shall never have to make any new loans.

Given the deepening world economic recession, we think a better cooperation should be achieved among all states, firmer action be taken to intensify economic exchanges as a necessary way out of the world crisis.

Robert Maxwell: We would like Your Excellency to speak about Romania's relations with the socialist countries and about the results of the collaboration with CMEA and about the projects with which Romania will participate in the forthcoming summit meeting of this organization.

Nicolae Ceaușescu: In general, I should say that Romania's relations with the socialist countries are good and that there is a continuous development of the collaboration in the economic, technical-scientific and other fields. As a matter of fact, Romania is one of the founding members of CMEA and I must declare that in its 30 years of existence, CMEA has had an important role in the socialist countries' socioeconomic development, in expanding the collaboration among them, and, therefore, in Romania's own development. But, as it usually happens in life, new problems turn up, requiring a certain re-examination and improvement of the socioeconomic organizations, therefore an improvement of the CMEA's activity.

Romania is preparing to participate in the CMEA summit meeting, wishing that the discussions will lead to solutions to the new problems which have appeared in the development of the socialist countries, in the international economic life and in CMEA. Of course,

all socialist countries have undergone a powerful development. To a certain extent they have reached almost the same level of development, but this fact entails new problems concerning, first of all, a better ensurance of their basis of raw material and energy. Settling these problems will be one of the most important tasks of the coming meeting. There are also problems concerning the specialization in and cooperation of production; a matter of special concern is that of science and technology, of a closer collaboration in solving certain issues facing the socialist countries and, on the other hand, of their being able to cope with any measures - which, unfortunately, are felt on an international plane - limiting the economic or scientific and technical relations. We start from the fact that the socialist countries can solve the problems of economic and social development, of raw materials and energy in better conditions, that today they have greater possibilities of solving the most complex technological and technical problems, which requires their closer collaboration. Of course, we do not intend to isolate ourselves, to narrow our relations with other states. Instead, we would like to extend these relations according to the principles of equality and mutual benefit, we would like also the capitalist developed countries to understand that the relations with the socialist countries should be mutually advantageous, that the technological-scientific relations should also be advantageous, that the socialist countries themselves possess a lot of advanced technologies, some of which do not exist in the capitalist countries and that the exchange of technologies, the development of collaboration would benefit both sides and that we should act to this effect. The more so as we want the development of scientific and technological research to help assisting the developing countries more.

At the same time, we would like to discuss the problems concerning agriculture. In this field too, we start from the fact that the agriculture of the socialist countries can, in a relatively short period, settle the problem of fully meeting their needs of food and agriculture products and create export availabilities, too.

That is why we shall pay a special attention to these matters at that meeting. We would like the best ways to be found for solving completely in a few years the problem of agriculture in the socialist countries.

As far as we are concerned, I must mention the results we have so far obtained in Romania's agriculture and the measures we took to ensure our food and agriculture self-sufficiency, and so we need not import food and agricultural produce any more, except for the usual international economic exchanges.

Robert Maxwell: The international press has carried certain

contradictory commentaries on the Decree on the compulsoriness of the persons asking for their permanent settlement abroad to repay completely the expenses granted by the state for their schooling. As there are a lot of speculations about this subject, we would like you to explain to the readers of this book what made Romania adopt such a measure.

Nicolae Ceaușescu: Indeed, we issued a decree which was subsequently passed unanimously in the Grand National Assembly, thus becoming a law on the settlement of some internal problems regarding the obligations of Romanian citizens who elect definitive domicile abroad.

The adoption of this Decree is a matter of social equity and justice. As is known, education in Romania is completely free; almost 70 per cent of the students receive state scholarships. Naturally, the Romanian legislation contains provisions - as, in fact, those of many states do - under which the graduates are bound to work a definite number of years in various fields of activity. Through the activity they carry on in the Romanian economy, in whatever sector, experts repay in the course of years - their duties to society, the efforts it made to school and train them. But this would be tantamount to allowing free of charge those who wish to work abroad for various companies and, therefore, instead of repaying money to the society which schooled them, bring in profits to the respective companies. But Romanian society and the Romanian people cannot approve of this situation.

Incidentally, I would like to mention that other countries too have concerned themselves with this problem; even the United States adopted, last October, a law under which the citizens who were granted state loans to attend higher education are bound to repay the credits; this obligation must be fulfilled even by those who retire.

Naturally, we wish all of our specialists to stay in this country. We do not wish and we do not encourage anyone under any form to leave Romania. We ensure jobs and equal opportunities to all of our citizens. We have no unemployed people and I think that within the foreseeable future Romanian socialist society will know no unemployment. Therefore, there is no justification whatsoever for anyone leaving his country to work abroad. Yet if someone wishes to leave we cannot compel him to stay, but he must pay off the expenses paid for by society for his training. This demand is an act of equity and social justice.

As for the amount of these obligations, we took as a basis the sums spent by a foreign student being taught in our country. Today there are more than 21,000 foreign students in Romania. Therefore we do not establish arbitrary dues, but set out from what the foreign students trained in Romania spend on their training, sums which as a

rule are lower than in many developed countries.

Robert Maxwell: Mr President, totally upholding not only your decree but also your viewpoint, that on the American's stand enforced or is it underway?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: The decree has been enforced. Of course, it is not enforced on those who, at the time of its adoption, already had permission to leave but were still in Romania; like any law, it does not apply retroactively.

Robert Maxwell: Your proposals and initiatives for disarmament, for nuclear disarmament particularly, are well known. How do you view the settlement of this problem at the European and global level? How do you rate the popular movements for peace in the present international situation?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: Indeed, Romania has firmly promoted and promotes a policy of disarmament, first of all of nuclear disarmament, and of halting the arms race. The very essence of our socialist society imposes a policy of international peace and collaboration.

The world situation is particularly critical. The arms race goes on, new nuclear weapons are stockpiled, 80 per cent of which are in fact located in Europe. Hence the necessity of doing everything for halting the arms race, the growth of military expenditures, which have exceeded 500 billion dollars, and especially for halting the emplacement of new nuclear weapons and the development of those already existing in Europe.

As a matter of fact, the problems of the medium-range nuclear missiles are of concern to all European countries. The United States of America are outside their range. The European territory of the Soviet Union is, however, within their range. That is why we, the European countries, are the most interested in having no missiles located in Europe and in having the existing ones removed and destroyed.

Naturally, the question arises of reaching an agreement that should ensure a balance of forces. There is much talk about the "zero option". If the "zero option" encompasses only the missiles, then no balance is ensured and in fact no liquidation of the nuclear weapons is achieved. It is necessary to keep back - if I may use a suggestive formula - no medium-range carriers of nuclear weapons-missiles, ship-based missiles, bombers and to take action either for their utter liquidation, while seeing to a certain balance, or for their complete liquidation. But it is nonsensical to envision a unilateral reduction and this is hardly presumable.

Therefore, it is necessary that we should do our utmost in order to halt the emplacement of missiles, the development of other vectors of

mass destruction weapons, that we should act for their proportional reduction until their complete elimination. And in this respect we must set out from realities. This implies that it is more realistic and more correct to accept a balanced reduction of missiles and armaments as a first step towards creating the conditions for their total elimination. We must not stick to the conception "either everything or nothing". It is more reasonable to start from less - and in this case less would mean to emplace no more missiles, to proportionally reduce some of the ones already in place and to destroy them as also, of course, to continue negotiations on their total elimination. This fully complies with the European peoples' interests.

That is why in all the European states - in the East, the West, the North and the South - the peace movement has made headway; it has exceeded older forms and has in fact become a new movement, involving politicians, parties, political, philosophical and religious circles - virtually all social categories. But what is perhaps still more important is that scientists, who are more aware of the danger posed by nuclear weapons, are some of the most active in this respect.

Our view is that the peace movements are very important, and they should gain wider momentum. As a matter of fact, Romanian people actively participated and still participate in this activity. We are determined to step up our contacts and ties with the peace movements in Europe and on the other continents. This will make governments and state leaders listen to the will of their peoples and rescind their plans that are placing in jeopardy the very life, the existence of Europe and of mankind.

Robert Maxwell: Mr President, the "zero option" is one that asks for the dismantling of the SS-20 missiles targeted on Europe. In the opinion of many Europeans, if the Soviet side seriously wishes to prevent the European installation of American Cruise and Pershing missiles on our soil then they should agree to dismantle the SS-20s targeted on Europe. Everybody agrees that the use of these missiles by either side would be suicide for all of us in Europe. Does President Ceaușescu agree that this question is a European problem not just a Soviet-American one, and have you any suggestions of what we in Europe could do to help avoid this calamity?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: I agree that a full solution must be found to both the American and the Soviet missiles, but it should also cover vectors of nuclear weapons and of medium-range nuclear arms. Certainly, it would be normal to reach the withdrawal of all Soviet missiles - but that should be properly matched by measures for the nuclear-weapon carriers on the part of the NATO countries. I think that this is how the Soviet Union sees the problem and that

she is ready for an agreement. We have discussed the matter, and we understand that neither side can unilaterally solve the problems, that both of them discuss these problems frankly and preserve an equilibrium. The best equilibrium, to be sure, would be to completely give up all nuclear arms. The installation of new missiles and the development of Soviet ones enhance nobody's security - to the contrary, this heightens the risk of destruction in Europe. Neither the Western nor the Eastern countries will remain, in effect, beyond the range of missiles. That is why every effort must be made to reach an agreement. In this sense we have already made the recommendation, and we insist on it, that the European countries do not stay out of the negotiations but directly involve themselves, in parallel, in the negotiations dealing with the medium-range missiles to solve the problems, since this question concerns all the European countries - it is not only a Soviet-American problem.

Robert Maxwell. Mr. President, recently you participated in the Warsaw Treaty summit in Prague. Which are in your view the most important results, and what concrete measures should be adopted, by NATO as well, in order to come to an agreement on refraining from the use of military means in Europe? What action do you think the big powers, the other countries in the world, should take for producing solutions that would not jeopardize peace?

Nicolae Ceaușescu. The summit of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Prague extensively discussed the problems of disarmament - with its priority nuclear disarmament, of eliminating force-based policies from international life and settling the issues by means of negotiations, the problems of détente, collaboration and peace. The documents adopted strongly pointed to the socialist countries' responsibility for peace, their will to act for precluding the threat of an atomic war, for proceeding to concrete, practical measures of disarmament, for building security and peace in the world. Assessments and proposals were formulated at the meeting that are highly consequential for curbing the military build up policy and for promoting détente. From among them I would like to mention the proposals concerning the start of negotiations between the parties concerned, and mainly that on direct negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries. I think that the start of such negotiations would be highly important for the simple reason that the member countries of the two military blocs hold the overwhelming share of armaments and troops and that their share of military expenses amounts to more than 80 per cent of the global military spending. So an arms-reduction agreement by the countries in the membership of the two military blocs would be an important step forward on the path to disarmament. In the view of Romania, it would

be greatly consequential that such direct negotiations begin, with the shortest possible delay, between the states of the two military blocs, aiming to conclude an agreement on the freeze of military outlays and then their reduction, in percentage points or in absolute expression. To come to the point. We consider that the adoption by NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries of a decision to limit military expenses at their 1983 level and to proceed to their reduction by at least 20 per cent through the year 1985 would be of great importance. I want to say in this context that at the National Conference, Romania passed the decision not to increase its military spending up to 1985 beyond the 1982 level.

The Declaration of the the countries participating in the Prague summit meeting also contained the proposal that the two military blocs - NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries - come to an agreement on the reciprocal non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations, an agreement that is open to all other states. Some other proposals were certainly formulated in that document, such that can bring about tangible progress along the path of disarmament, of consolidating trust and security in Europe and all across the globe. Considering the extreme gravity of the European situation and the aspirations of the European people to live shielded against any threat of war, our understanding is that now it is more necessary than at any other previous time to proceed without delay to negotiations and to concrete actions for disarmament, détente and peace. Our assessment is that the Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries provides the basis for them to start negotiating with the NATO countries and with the other states, for practical action to be launched oriented to disarmament and to preventing a nuclear catastrophe. So, I think the proposals advanced by the Warsaw Treaty countries are an important basis for negotiations, and it is necessary that the NATO countries themselves come up with constructive proposals along the same line and answer in the same spirit. Provided that action is taken in this direction, solutions acceptable to both sides can certainly be found. Doubtless, I do not think that only the Warsaw Treaty proposals should be considered. The proposals of both sides, the same as the proposals of other countries concerned, must be considered during such negotiations. The essential thing is that all these proposals are discussed and analyzed in a sense of utmost responsibility for the cause of peace and détente, for removing the danger of nuclear war which, you can be sure, will leave neither losers nor winners in its wake.

Of course, the superpowers have a great role in this regard, and Romania grants great importance to the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on strategic armaments and on the deployment of

medium-range nuclear missiles, being of the opinion that adequate understandings struck there would bode well for curbing the arms race, for achieving disarmament and peace. We think that all countries are directly interested in the implementation of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, and so they must all become actively involved in fulfilling this vital wish of the people and of our time. Everything possible should be done to ensure the ultimate right of individuals, of peoples, to existence, to life, to liberty, independence and peace.

Robert Maxwell: The situation in the Middle East is still a long way from being satisfactory. You, Mr President, have had an important role in the effort of ironing out the problems plaguing this region, given the good relations you have with both the Arab world and Israel. What do you think about the peace initiatives concerning the Middle East and the claim laid by some that the PLO should have to accept the idea of a homeland? Or do you consider that a *sine qua non* for a settlement to the problem is Palestinian statehood?

Nicolae Ceaușescu: Romania has always spoken out for a real solution of the Palestinian question based on the right to self-determination and to independent Palestinian statehood. Intermediary solutions certainly can exist, but the strategic goal, so to say, is to have an independent Palestinian state built, those conditions provided enabling the Palestinian people to shape their life the way they themselves want. Of course they can federate or confederate with this or with that side, even with Israel perhaps some time in the future, but such a choice cannot be made before they win their independence and build their own state.

At present it is necessary that Israel should withdraw its troops from Lebanon and respect Lebanon's independence and sovereignty. At the same time action should be taken for a global peace in the Middle East. Romania supports the idea of calling an international conference in which all states concerned should take part, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. A durable peace in the Middle East implies the setting up of an independent Palestinian state but also the recognition and existence of the state of Israel. Relations of good neighbourhood and co-operation ought to be established between these states, between Arabs and Israel.

Robert Maxwell: Mr President, Romania's economic relations with Great Britain are generally good. What development prospects do you foresee to bilateral economic relations? What measures are being taken for boosting trade with Britain, for more Romanian commodities on the Western market, notably in Britain? We would be grateful to learn your opinion on the development prospects of the relations between Romania and the United Kingdom, in general.

Nicolae Ceaușescu: I consider that relations between Romania and Great Britain are good. We have a series of co-operation ventures, such as the one in the field of aviation, which continue to develop. There are, of course, even greater possibilities for the collaboration between our countries to be expanded. I can understand that the world economic situation also exerts some influence upon these relations. We would like the Romanian Government and the British Government, the businessmen in Great Britain and the Romanian enterprises, to act together for seeking out ways to overcome these shortcomings and to further promote the relations between our countries. I think that such possibilities do exist and we shall act in this direction. At the same time, we would also like to collaborate in solving the major international issues, first of all those concerning Europe.

Robert Maxwell: Mr President, I feel dutybound to express my deep gratitude for the time you have given to answering my questions, for this interesting, frank and comprehensive talk. I wish you good health and power to continue your constant, tireless activity for the good of your country, for the success of peace and détente worldwide, for understanding and collaboration among nations.

Nicolae Ceaușescu: Thank you very much for your endeavour in publishing books about Romania, and for the contribution you make to developing relations between our countries, to making the policy of our State known internationally.